DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 045 583 SP 004 477

AUTHOR	Burger, Henry G.
TITLE	Ethnic Live-In: A Guide for Penetrating and Understanding a Cultural Minority.
PUB DATE	69
NOTE	63p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Ecokstore, University of Missouri, Kansas City, Missouri 64110 ($1.25, plus $0.25 mailing charge in U.S., $0.50 foreign)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF-$0.50 HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Behavioral Science Research, *Ethnic Groups, *Ethnology, Field Studies, *Research Methodolcgy, Research Opportunities

ABSTRACT

This guidebock to learning procedures in cultural sensitivity and ethnographic data-gathering is designed for professionals and preprofessionals whose duties involve ethnics. It is specifically suggested fcr use by "intermittent" ethnographers (those who may use weekends and vacations to study ethnic enclaves both within large cities and in the countryside) such as anthropolcgy students, government officials, and nonanthropology professionals and students who will be working with ethnics, e.g., teachers, social workers, photcgraphers. The varicus sections of the guide deal with the nature of fieldwork, definitions, why you should observe an ethnic community, how to identify the available ethnicities, how to select an cbservable community, what study to do in advance, what equipment to take, how to program your visits, how to explain your missicn, how to select an introducer, how to arrive in the selected community, how c select a surveyor, how to select informants, what to lock for, how to seek the infcrmation you desire, how to behave socially, how tc cbserve, how to sample, how to interview, how to repay those who aid you, what to record, where to record observations, how to record observations, how to respond to ethnic initiatives, how to counteract your personal problems, how to process your data, what tc do with your cbservations. Included are a 250-item index and a 52-item bibliography on field work, many of the entries themselves bibliccraphies. (Author/JS)

ED045583

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

ETHNIC LIVE - IN:

A GUIDE FOR PENETRATING AND UNDERSTANDING

A CULTURAL MINORITY

by Henry G. Burger (Ph.D., Anthropology)
Associate Professor of Education and Anthropology, UMKC

© 1969 Prof. Henry G. Burger

Permission to reproduce this copyrighted work has been granted to the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) and to the organization operating under contract with the Office of Education to reproduce documents included in the ERIC system by means of microfiche only, but this right is not conferred to any users of the microfiche received from the ERIC Document Reproduction Service. Further reproduction of any part requires permission of the copyright owner.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL BY MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY Henry G. Burger TO ERIC AND ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING UNDER AGREEMENTS WITH THE U. S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION. FURTHER REPRODUCTION OUTSIDE THE ERIC SYSTEM REQUIRES PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNER."

Publication Number 1
2d Edition, January 1970.

Available at the Bookstore
UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI - KANSAS CITY
Kansas City, Mo. 64110 U.S.A.

SP004477

SUMMARY

Complex cultures, usually favoring technology, face a crisis in misunderstanding the aspirations of their ethnic minorities. Both cultural sensitivity and ethnographic data are needed. This guidebook to learning such procedures is designed both for other professionals and pre-professionals whose duties involve ethnics.

Such persons need not await a year's grant to a distant land. Weekends and vacations may, instead, be utilized to study ethnic enclaves both within large cities and in the countryside. These enclaves may be identified through local newspapers, etc. The more exotic (e.g., Amerindian) unit selected, the broader the view of human potential will be perceived by the "intermittent ethnographer." Advance study preceding fieldwork includes culture-categorizing codes such as Notes & Queries on Anthropology, White's guide to social science literature, etc. Aerial maps, edge-punched cards, nonperishable food, and first-aid supplies should be carried. The role of student researcher must immediately be established to scotch rumors. The sponsor, such as a university, should name an introducer to enable identification of a "surveyor," or semi-native who knows the individuals and places within the target ethnicity that can provide data. The intensity of intermittent ethnography should increase from mere drives-through to spending overnight(s). Informants for particular data should have social connections, and the ethnographer should domicile himself for visibility or accessibility to significant events. The basic cultural sectors on which informat on should early be gathered are, first, economic subsistence, then technological exploitation, territoriality, communicative interaction, social organization, bisexual organization, timing, ethics/religion/defense, learning/enculturation, and esthetics/recreation. Preceding them should be a historical account of how the ethnic group reached its present situation.

Multiple rather than few sources of data collection should be utilized. The fieldworker should imitate native behavior wherever possible, but not express value judgments. He should record behavior that impresses him as peculiar, even if he does not yet understand its rationale. Sampling and quantification need come only as he immerses himself in the breadth of the target area. Interviews may proceed from unstructured to structured. Where possible, helpers should be paid in services that they value. Each meeting or other situation has its own limits on the fieldworker's recording events as they occur. The environment, especially social, should simultaneously be noted. The researcher should feel bound by professional ethics, particularly those of the American Anthropological Association and the Society for Applied Anthropology, as in keeping informants' names confidential. The ethnography should in part or whole be offered for publication, especially to locally oriented periodicals. While its goal has been to train the user of this manual, it leads the user gradually to predict the success of other agencies' interventions in the target area, and thus to his own proposals for bicultural development. The guidebook's principles are based on the author's fieldwork and citations from four dozen publications. There is a 250-item index.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Summary i
The natue of fieldwork. 1
Definitions 5
Why you should observe an ethnic community. 7
How to identify the available ethnicities 9
How to select an observable community 10
What study to do in advance 11
What equipment to take. 13
How to program your visits. 17
How to explain your mission 18
How to select an introducer 20
How to arrive in the selected community 22
How to select a surveyor. 25
How to select informants. 26
What to look for. 27
How to seek the information you desire. 31
How to behave socially. 33
How to observe. 35
How to sample 37
How to interview. 38
How to repay those who aid you. 40
What to record. 42
Where to record observations. 43
How to record observations. 45
How to respond to ethnic initiatives. 47
How to counteract external trouble. 48
How to counteract your personal problems. 50
Processing your data. 51
What to do with your observations 53
References cited. 54
Acknowledgments 57
Index 58

THE NATURE OF FIELDWORK

Complex cultures organize themselves so as to give intermittent and cumulative training to persons who will bomb and kill ("weekend warriors"). Why should they not equally encourage creative cultural missions such as should be facilitated by the present guidebook? We need weekend (or, more accurately, intermittent) ethnographers.

Yankeeism is entering a crisis period. It faces a situation in which many of the ethnic minorities no longer accept Yankeeism as a culture. Therefore the U.S.A. must rapidly come to understand culture, cultural difference, and those minorities.

Particularly is this need urgent for the educator, from executive to classroom teacher. Yet it is also necessary for the student of cultural science who cannot delay his field experience for some one-shot, prolonged grant several years hence. By the self-help system outlined in this guidebook, immediate training can be procured by such a person -- the well-educated and disciplined person of any age.

The immediate impetus is provided for my own students at the University of Missouri - Kansas City. It is believed that any scientifically-trained supervisor can have his trainees use this guidebook under his sporadic redirection. Only in unusual circumstances should this guidebook entirely replace such a supervisor, who can provide the human and irregular answers needed to make it suitable for a particular circumstance.

The purpose of this manual differs in several important details from the readily-available texts for training anthropologists. It is designed for a far broader group of users.

Among the obvious types of users of this manual are: Anthropology students. Non-anthropology professionals and students who will be working with ethnics, such as: teachers; social workers; photographers and audiophiles. Government officials.

This manual should be suitable in many respects for <u>any</u> situation of polyethnicity (adjoining cultural groups, whether or not interactive) around the world, and not merely use within U.S.A.

The time and distance of the traditional anthropologist's field training grossly misfit today's realities for the bulk of the need. For every person who has the opportunity to a full year in a foreign culture, there are thousands who have the few days of weekends and an occasional week or two (or, in the

case of educators, a full summer) of vacation. The decision is, then, to use those actual times, or to wait forever for the legendary grant and tour. The charming average of almost seven post-baccalaureate years in anthropological work before a doctorate simply eliminates the large number of successful recipients needed for the rapidly expanding university teaching. Work in New Guinea, while revealing of human diversity, does not prepare one for the far larger number of needs in oil negotiations with the Near East, in tempering missionaries' ethnocentrism, even in understanding the ethnic minorities within a complex culture. For these far larger, and faster growing, needs, then, the present guidebook is designed.

Consequently, it assumes time available as not the straight-full-year common in anthropological training, but occasional bits of days or weekends. Many of them when accumulated, should be combined with intermittent reading and other sources to produce a fairly good understanding of the ethnicity.

Another difference from the standard ethnological field trainer is that this manual is likely to be used to study ethnicities within a complex culture (e.g., a ghetto within a big U.S. city), whereas the other work is generally used in a relatively isolated and often self-governed ethnicity.

If you are willing to do fieldwork in an ethnic community, then you are about to spend hours that will remain vivid for the rest of your life. You will see, hear, touch, taste, and smell a sliver of the life of a different type of Homo sapiens. Do not waste this opportunity, even though in the immediate future it will deprive you of some hours in your air-conditioned, stereo-loudspeakered home.

The pleasures and pains of fieldwork have been evocatively described by Thomas Williams:

> These sensory experiences may simultaneously please and sicken him while he struggles to adjust to living closer to the natural world than ever before in his life; his bed may be a woven grass mat laid on a bamboo floor, his latrine a clump of bushes, and his bath a tumbling, cold, mountain stream. As the anthropologist comes to have to live without the material culture so familiar in his urban Western life, while at the same time fending off, assimilating, and trying to systematically think of the sense experiences that break in waves upon him day after day, he comes to be aware of himself and his culture in new ways. He discovers how he stands, walks and gestures, the patterns and logical forms of his thoughts, his assumptions of order, progress, and time. The world about him takes on new meaning as he comes to know his informants well enough to read correctly the meaning of a hitching up of a loin cloth, or a scratching of the thumb tip across the lips. (1967:62)

Observing a different ethnic group earn its living, teach its children, and so on, is the process called "fieldwork," and produces a description of a culture that is called an "ethnography." No machine can presently perform this activity, far more useful than the investigation of moons. "The anthropologist is a human instrument studying other human beings and their societies" (Powdermaker 1966:19).

More important than sensory change is the psychological change that overwhelms the person studying an alien ethnicity:

> Immersed in the life around him, the anthropologist may experience an exhilarating sense of coming to understand another people and of being accepted by them. He may also at times undergo a shattering feeling of isolation, of strangeness and disorientation, and yearn for the comfort of accustomed things. Herein lies a dilemma, for he is neither a full participant in the life he studies, nor simply a passive background observer of it. He is something of both, a role nicely summarized in the double term, "participant-observer." Not born to the alien culture or committed to it, the anthropologist must stand at a certain psychological and emotional distance from it. If he is an objective scientist, he cannot "go native." Neither can he hold himself aloof and observe human behavior as a naturalist might watch a colony of ants; with fellow humans there is both the possibility and necessity of communication. Thus one's capacity for imaginatively entering into the life of another people becomes a primary qualification for the ethnographer. (Casagrande 1960b)

Certain events may occur only once a year, yet influence all other events. Typical of these is some natural economic force such as harvesting. Consequently, without detailing that event, you cannot gain a balanced understanding of the ethnicity. All you can do is gain background in some sectors, and hope that your "intermittent fieldworker" situation will last at least one calendric year.

Some ethnicities "melt," while others remain distinct. Hence this guidebook cannot give substantive descriptions of any one ethnicity. That is, indeed, the subject of your resesarch, involving both publications, informants, and observations. The actual degree of transculturation must govern your interpretation and effectuation of these procedures. Tobacco, for example, may have made a fine gift in Melanesia of a generation ago, but would hardly be exciting in a slum area of a large Yankee city today.

A dominant culture by definition seizes the best economics; hence (depending on the polyethnic situation of a particular society) ethnic minority often means poverty and slum. Because of the commonness of that situation in and near the large cities of U.S.A., this guidebook often seems to equate them. I am, however, well aware that there is also a middle class, however small, in certain groups such as Negroes. I do not mean to equate <u>all</u> subgroups of all ethnicities with the precautions outlined in this manual.

Doing research does not authorize you to violate any custom or law. Do not cite this manual as justification for such violation.

The text is based on experiences both of the author and of the many whom I cite. I have spent from one night to one year in each of many cultures -- Navaho, Australian, Spanish-American, New Guinean, Yankee, Mexican, Japanese, etc.

From teaching university classes for the past 16 semesters, I have attempted to perfect creative semester reports of the type outlined herein. For the past

two semesters in particular, system of ethnography much like that described herein has worked so well (especially with pre Ph.D. students who have had as little as one other course in social science) that I have recommended some 6% of their semester reports for publication in regional social science journals.

Good luck to you!

DEFINITIONS

Ethnicity means a group that differs from a neighboring group in culture. For a convenient list of the sectors of culture, see the definition for Hallian Ethnography. Thus, if the group you are interested in, differs from your own in several of these factors, it may be considered a different ethnicity.

There is not an absolute difference between ethnicities and classes within a single ethnicity. The Mormons, generally working at Anglo-type occupations, can probably most fruitfully be considered within the sociological concept of class. The Amish, following a rather communal economics, can probably better be considered within the anthropological concept of ethnicity. To the extent that middle-class Negroes seemed to strive for assimilation, they could probably have been considered within class; but recent strong rejections by the white "power structure" and reactions within Negritude suggest that the more accurate and fruitful category at present may be ethnicity. The limited number of classes filled by an ethnic minority has been termed "ethclass" (Gordon 1964:51.

"Ethnic," "native," and "indigenous," refer to the cultural minority being studied. Each of these words has both a neutral and derogatory meaning; we intend only the former.

Yankee, Anglo, WASP: Although these variants have some differences, they will be used here interchangeably for members of the dominant society of the U.S.A.

Hallian Ethnography, my term, should have at least 11 parts. The first 10 are from Edward T. Hall (1959:222-23, or 1961:174; both here rephrased). He mapped culture as having the following sectors: economic subsistence, technological exploitation, territory, communicative interaction, social organization, bisexual organization, timing, ethics/religion/defense, learning/enculturation, and esthetics/recreation. Preceding these 10 should, I believe, be an ethnohistory, that is, a timed account of how the ethnic group came to its present status, based on both published and oral sources.

Field means not only "open country" but also "the sphere of practical operation" (Merriam 1961:s. v. field). The field is where the folk are, especially at critical times. Thus, Lloyd Warner and J. O. Low (1947:vii) did "fieldwork" while inside roofed shoe factories.

"Operational base" means the site you use for objects while doing fieldwork. It may be your own automobile trunk, or the bedroom of your host's house or a public locker in a bus station, or otherwise.

Emic (adjective): of the "insider," or native; hence, attitudinal.

Etic (adjective): of the "outsider," or researcher; more likely to be based on the observation of actual behavior rather than stated opinions.

Phenotype means (visible type) versus genotype (latent type). Although this concept is genetic, it may be analogized (but not homologized) to culture.

WHY YOU SHOULD OBSERVE AN ETHNIC COMMUNITY

Certain disciplines, particularly that of "Skinnerian" operantly behavioristic psychology, consider the humans as a "black box." Into this thinking, they argue, a stimulus falls. From it emerges a response. They care not what are the thought processes which connect the "wires" inside that sealed box. We recommend this attitude highly to all pigeons but, alas, not to humans. Such a belief may be simplistic when applied within one ethnicity (by a researcher of the same culture as the subjects). But it becomes perilous when applied transculturally. For unless we understand the past history and the present complexity of the community, we cannot predict the longer-range reaction of the individual ethnic as is revealed in the failures of Skinnerism applied cross-culturally (Burger 1969b). Nor can we agree with those who would train in ethnic sensitivity by utilizing locally available groups such as (WASP) Boy Scouts. The way to understand ethnicity is to study it comparatively, not monolithically. The very interlinkage to the dominant ethnicity causes subordination of the minority. The researcher views, then, not an ethnicity in some sort of state of 'normal depravity,' but rather one that has probably been economically and/or militarily subjugated. Gonzalez (1968:54) speaks of such a balkanized and exploited situation as "neoteric". There is, for example, a vast difference between the humbleness of the Mexican-Americans in Southwestern U.S. barrios and the high spirits of the "same stock" Mexicans across the border, as I found them in (say) Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas.

The problem thus is a cross between normal description of an entire exotic culture, the "ethnography", and the more recently arising descriptions of one community within a metropolis or other linked system, which community is usually of the same ethnicity as the larger one. The latter urban and community studies is described in Gutkind and others (1967).

Although the U.S.A. is 'a nation of immigrants', its middle class seems quite unaware of the ethnicities within. The myth of a melting pot has purblinded the Yankees to the reality of a goulash. The cultural shock and gap may be illustrated by a Southwestern WASP teacher who had been working with ethnics but had apparently never visited them until we arranged such a visit with a Pueblo Amerindian family. She dared not ask them the site of the latrine, but instead utilized the porous wall of her bedroom. And that native family even now has a sensory reminder of that visit!

Such ethnic frigidity need not be the case. The principal difference between man and the other animals is his plasticity, apparently enabled by his ability to symbol. Such plasticity is reflected in the diversity of mankind, a diversity manifested principally in ethnicity. Consequently, vast pleasures should attend your getting to understand the ethnicity, as well as your becoming friends of some of the native people. You will gradually grow to see your data in deeper perspective.

Until you have spent much time in the area, do not propose innovations. At most, help persons with innovations if they solicit your advice.

HOW TO IDENTIFY THE AVAILABLE ETHNICITIES

To identify the ethnicities reasonably available to you, obtain two types of map. One should be the normal highway-touring type. Onto it, crayon a circle of the area you should reasonably cover so as to visit a site for several hours during a day. This might be a maximum of $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours' drive each way, or 90 miles by regular roads and 140 miles where superhighways appear.

The second type of map should be a city map for each major urban area within the perimeter.

Onto each map, you should pencil the approximate boundaries of each ethnicity you hear about.

There are probably many ethnicities in your general area of which you do not know. Your local newspaper no doubt has some journalist who specializes in them; a visit rather than a mere phone call is necessary to evoke the details.

One way to decide on a location within a region is to tour the region. You might do this not as a pure tourist, but in some role that creates a standardized reaction throughout the region, so that you can identify the differences in reaction. Thus anthropologist Hortense Powdermaker, surveying Northern Rhodesia, Africa, accompanied a cinema van that the government sent through the area (1966:241-24).

Ethnic diversity lies all about you. Kansas, for example, is so Yankeefied that it calls itself "Midway U.S.A." Yet here within greater Kansas City, or not more than a $2\frac{1}{2}$ hour drive from it, the author's students found in a single semester and with no guidance at least 13 distinguishable Negro communities; six Raza (Spanish/Mexican) communities and migrant groups; Polish-Americans; Italian-Americans; Cubans; Amish; Amerindians (Potawatomie; Kickapoo; and Sac and Fox). Surely there are many near you.

HOW TO SELECT AN OBSERVABLE COMMUNITY

Only after you have listed all the ethnicities you have learned about should you decide which to target.

The selection of area reflects the interest of the investigator. For example, Lloyd Warner, presumably interested in social class, chose the highly class-conscious Yankee City in New England.

Begin with distinguishable units, such as clear-cut cultures. It is true that ethnicities are often not distinct but merging into the larger culture. In fact, one of today's ethnological trends is to emphasize that interrelatedness. Nevertheless, you will learn the concepts of ethnicity best in proportion to the distinctness of the group boundaries. Only later should you work in more fluid situations. Such distinction is often associated with natural boundaries, such as mountains or rivers. Because islands are relatively isolated, they make good areas for complete analysis.

Do not compound the confusion of a new ethnicity by dividing your time between several communities or cultures; focus on a single one. If there is near to your target ethnicity, a similar community of a different ethnicity (such as of the dominant culture), so much the better: Later you may be able to make controlled comparisons, such as the differential acceptance of a health measure.

Avoid situations of either total harmony or total disharmony (factionalism).

The most Anglo-like culture would seem the easiest to penetrate. But if several choices are open to you, you will best learn the potential of mankind by choosing the more exotic culture.

Yet, since you will be sufficiently busy learning other aspects of ethnicity, your fieldwork should concern a minority at least many of whose members speak your owr language. But this should pose no limitation, since a complex culture tends to bombard its ethnic minorities, and most of them have many cultural brokers, or compradors, who are bilingual. Eventually, however, you must learn the native language if you are to understand home gossip, etc. Persons seeking aid in learning foreign languages, especially special dialects and exotic languages, can, because of the speed of changes in the literature, better consult an operational group that keeps abreast of the literature. One such is Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington.

WHAT STUDY TO DO IN ADVANCE

Both by fieldwork and by advance study, you should begin by understanding the normal operation of the major activities in the target ethnicity.

The study preparation includes both a review of the professional literature and a search for specific data on the target area, both historical and contemporary/actuarial. These together will provide a baseline against which changes, both in the recent past and in the future, may be observed and perceived.

A review of the professional literature should begin quite some time before fieldwork; the anthropology student should begin at least a year before he departs for his crusade. The reader procures the latest publications on his area (both geographic and ethnic, since each may contain other elements). He both reads them and makes a bibliographic card on each. Each note he records should refer to the exact page in the exact publication where he found it, since he will constantly find some items require reanalysis.

For categorizing the sectors of ethnicity, several guides may be suggested. A more prosed equivalent, less tabulated but giving more of the background, is Notes and Queries on Anthropology (Royal Anthropological Institute 1951).

Murdock and others (1961)'s Outline of Cultural Materials offers about 80 groups of problems divided into some 650 topics. Each has some one dozen specific subjects. E.g.: 26-, Food consumption. 264, Eating. Aspects; regularity; informal eating (e.g., between meals, at work or play); meals (hours, number per day, participation, composition); techniques of eating; table manners; sequels (e.g., disposals of excess and waste; utensil cleaning); associated beliefs and practices. (Here are also references to six other categories, such as #515, ablutions.) There are also many field manuals for special themes. On child training, for example, both categories of information, and findings for 110 cultures appear in Barry and others (1967). Complete as much as possible of the check list (discussed in the chapter on what to look for) before you begin fieldwork.

Every governmental office supervising the target area will be able to offer some of its records. The most local unit, such as a town or county government, should obviously be approached early. By (truthfully) presenting yourself as engaged in an academic research, rather than appearing to be an individual of odd interests, you increase the chances for governmental cooperation.

For general background on ethnic differences and particularly on how they affect education, see a 341-page manual on that topic, Burger (1968), which lists almost 200 publications, including ethnographies. If you wish to study any group of Amerindians, a very complete bibliography of both books and

periodical articles on each tribe appears in U.S.A. Department of the Interior (1966).

As models of ethnographic reportage, you might follow Withers (1945) for a WASP society, Arensberg and Kimball (1940) for an external (Irish) society, Spicer (1940) for an impacted society (Yaquis influenced by Yankees), or some of the other classics listed in Williams (1967: 75-76).

Believing archival research to be so important a subject as to deserve discussion in separate publications, we suggest general literature guides such as Carl White (1964).

Advance study is not limited to publications. It may also include interviews and observations in areas other than that of your target.

Virtually each of the aforementioned publication sources also has personnel who are familiar with the same subjects. Many of them will have visited the same or similar areas. Sources include both ethnics and persons who have lived in that ethnicity although themselves of a different ethnicity. Thus, a large U.S. armed forces base probably has potential interviewees both in the form of men who have lived in foreign areas, and ethnic officers who are visiting the U.S. for training. Again, if the target area has oil, it has probably been visited by geologists on the staff of a local oil company.

Providing you specify and interpret your interviewees' socio-cultural backgrounds, it is acceptable to cite them.

You can probably arrange interviews through the institution's public relations officer.

If the office is both loathe to take the time to provide the necessary data, and to let you, an outsider, handle its records, it may be proper to ask if someone may be hired for the task. Often a retired government clerk will be nominated to you.

Typical records to be consulted are: Tax records (income, manufacturing). Thus, the tax bureau may have mapped the entire area to prevent tax evasion. Censuses. Law records, both of projects (e.g., irrigation) and or private lawyers. Marriages, births, baptisms (the latter perhaps including godparenthood names),--both governmental and church. Diaries of missionaries, soldiers, early inhabitants, traders. Memories of old and/or influential inhabitants.

WHAT EQUIPMENT TO TAKE

Your goal should be to take reasonable precautions against difference in health, food, etc., without believing that such difference is your superiority. Thus, it would be absurd to follow the precaution advised by a medical doctor to a group the author was preparing for fieldwork:- He seriously advised them to don a face (gause) mask before entering an ethnic home!

We consider these supplies necessary to the performance of your fieldwork, and such fieldwork necessary to your performance of your role as professional-dealing-with-ethnics, student, or otherwise. Hence your expenditures in connection with this fieldwork should be receipted (or, since many of them may be informal payments, diarized). Then they should be claimed in the same tax status as your related non-fieldwork, such as on-the-job-training.

It is wise to carry personal identification. We have found quite sufficient a statement on a university letterhead to this effect: "This will identify _____ of (Anthropology 4438). He is making a study of (architectural history in Durango). Any aid or advice you can ethically offer him will be appreciated. (signed) Professor_____." The notice is, of course, in the target language; in the foregoing case, it was in Spanish.

On the reverse, not reduced in size, the researcher's photo and signature may be attached by means of some official-looking seal, such as a notary public's. Both sides are bonded by a protective clear plastic coat.

You should bring good maps, and if the terrain is not very flat, aerial photographs.

The map will enable your identifying property, neighborhood areas, routes, and change (shrinkage and growth), as well as a census. It should include all physical features, such as hills, roads, wells, fences, landmarks.

The commercial or official map you can get may be insufficiently large for you to use locally. One solution is to have a commercial photography shop enlarge just your neighborhood.

You will of course need notebooks. Many formats are usable. Because observations do not correspond to your eventual sequence of write-up, some form of loose leaf is desirable. The author carries paper that is three by five inches, whether padded or loose. Then each observation can be made instantly on a separate sheet of paper. Even if there is no time to annotate the time and place of the writing (as in a living room discussion in complete darkness), you can later fill in those

essentials, at bedtime, providing you file each used slip in sequence in a pocket. Consider taking edge-punched cards so that a single observation may be clued to as many categories or problems as it fits. Their use is described in the chapter where to record observations.

Several such brands are available, such as, the Royal McBee Key Sort Cards of the McBee Division of Litton Industries.

Photography and sound-recording: Picture-taking tends to arouse great suspicion, hostility, and envy. At best you become rich tourist photographying the impoverished colonials. At worst you are perceived as some sort of spy.

Therefore a general rule might be to take only to your Operational Base, but not to carry, photographic and sound recording equipment at first. You must learn to use words to describe your findings, particularly since today's need is theoretical and not merely emotional reportage and interpretation.

Only as you become known should you carry such equipment, and unobtrusively. To prove that your picture-taking is "innocent," you might use a camera that provides immediate prints (such as some Polaroid Land Cameras). Then give the print to the principal person viewed, such as the owner of a house you are photographing. If he is not pleased, he at least cannot resent you, since he sees that you have given him the output. If he is pleased, ask if you may take another picture and keep it. This system doubles your film cost, but makes you a sharer instead of an exploiter.

At any meeting, even informal, <u>always</u> ask a person who seems to have authority yet is not busy with recognizing speakers, if you may take a picture before doing so.

If your target ethnicity is within easy driving distance of your residence, you probably overcome the major problems faced in recording by the anthropologist: vast differences in such environmental factors as humidity, heat, etc.; lack of communication and distribution facilities, as for procuring camera film or sending it for processing before it decomposes.

Technology in both photography and sound recording is changing rapidly. Hence any specific modes or brands we might name would be obsoleted quickly. Instead, we recommend that you obtain more up-to-date information from (1) your institution's audio-visual department and (2) your equipment retailer.

Discussion of the use of photography and tape recorders in studying culture where the observer will be out of contact with complex cultures for long periods of time are discussed in Williams (1967:35-37).

Food: To learn if the tap water and other facilities in your target area are consumable/usable, you might visit or phone the county health department. If the community's hygiene is uncertain, generally accept only such items as must have come from the larger society, such as canned and packaged goods. Avoid fresh fruit and vegetables unless you can peel them yourself. Avoid complex proteins, such as meat, milk, and ice cream, in heat. Most difficult is the simple warning to avoid water, especially ice cubes.

Boiled products, of which coffee is a frequent example, are relatively safe.

Because an ethnicity tends to develop relative immunity to diseases and allergies, you, the stranger, are more susceptible to them. Hence you can honestly justify your use of private sources of health items, if seen and if asked, by implying that you are more 'sickly' than your native inquirer.

Carry a small canteen of water; then you need not stop frequently at taps of uncertain purity.

You cannot carry too much pure water; even if warm, it is safe. Hence, you might store at your Operational Base one or two gallons in addition to the canteen you could carry.

The water may be mixed, for better nutrition, with any of the 'balanced meal' products now on the market. "Instant breakfasts," for example, are enveloped powders, hence convenient to carry anywhere. Although they should be mixed with milk, water is safer and will suffice. Dried fruit assortments are also useful.

Because many foods contain alien spices, you should carry anti-allergy pills (prescription).

Certain items should be carried constantly. Although amenities, they may be absent in poorer areas. They include hard-water soap, towelettes (paper towels impregnated with soap and water), toilet paper, high-concentrate food (such as the individually wrapped "Space Sticks").

Insect repellants should be taken for skin, such as sulphur ointment; and (left at your Operational Base) areal repellants such as sprays.

Since dogs are likely to run wild it may be desirable to carry a mild itching-type spray (not to be confused with the specialties of mace and napalm!) to ward them off. Animals have learned to bluff by running to within a few inches of a person with their fangs bared. You might palm the spray in a ready position, but do not use it unless those last few inches are crossed. Such pressurized devices are vended by many mail-order houses.

Small cuts can become infected rapidly; hence carry Band-Aids handily. Also take first-aid cream (or the less convenient liquids such a mercurochrome).

Dress and toilet: Wear clothes that are clean and proper. Do not confuse poverty areas with a license for you to be ragged or unshaven. The clothes should, however, be easily launderable. Many a pool of water lies in an ill-maintained street in a slum, to be splashed by a passing truck a day after a rainfall has ended. Since you will do more walking than your body is used to, carefully select stockings and shoes for wear and comfort (e.g., low heels).

Dress is further discussed in the chapter on social behavior.

You should also take gifts. They are discussed in the section on how to repay those who aid you.

Containers: It is difficult to know how much you may have to carry during the several parts of the day -- such as rubbers. One day while in a Mexican farming village, I was unexpectedly presented with a heavy fox hide.

Both for your Operational Base container(s) and for those you carry, use

expansible, handled, containers, such as a combination purse-and-knapsack. Try to have the knapsack equipped with a zipper and a press-in lock that requires no obvious keying, so that if you must leave the case for a few minutes, you will deter casual (but not experienced) marauders.

HOW TO PROGRAM YOUR VISITS

If a problem especially requires fieldwork, as because the ethnicity is little known, a 600-working-hour project might be divided into: observing 1/6th; recording, 1/6th; analyzing, 1/3; reporting, 1/3 (Junker 1960:12).

Most of the ethnic minorities within complex cultures, by contrast, are already well studied. Here the function of fieldwork is more for training than for problem-solving at this stage of the reader's career. In such cases, we would change the ratio of studying publications-to-fieldwork, unstated in the above ratio, to 4-to-1.

The purpose of the ethnography is to train you in observation, and to give a skeletal outline (not full details!) of all the networks that might impinge on your problem area.

First learn the general community's source of economic subsistence, since it probably determines many other factors such as the kinship patterns. Only then should you focus on your specific informants' subsistence, and your general community's other activities such as kinship.

The clearest intertwining between the "little (local) tradition" and the "great tradition" probably occurs in the economic sphere. You may divide this into subsectors: processing of materials, provision of services, and the buying (cf. income) and selling (cf. outgo) of each. Thus, the income may be seen in wholesale trucks bringing packaged goods to a corner grocery store.

The problem you should seek should at first be broad, such as the nature of economic limitations. In this way, you can be motivated both to emphasize that sector of your observation, and simultaneously to report the other life sectors that are likely to influence your special interest.

You should have studied your area before arriving in it. Hence you should have some natural links to it, as via the persons of your own ethnicity who have already been there. Similarly, Alfred G. Smith would ask the inhabitants of one area if they (1957:210) had any messages to tape-record for the next area. When he'd play them in that second area, he simultaneously established his own credibility. And the author knows of a case in which a similar scheme was used in taverns with Negroes.

HOW TO EXPLAIN YOUR MISSION

Do not expect immediate appreciation of your 'noble mission.' Most ethnicities have previously had studies by outsiders. In most cases, they resulted (at best) in no relatable action or (at worst) in a refinement of outsider exploitation.

It is necessary that you immediately and clearly establish your role, before rumors begin.

Most cultures within complex societies understand the idea of doing university research, even if not social science. Hence the educator of student will generally win some understanding if when meeting an inquisitive ethnic, he immediately explains that he is doing research. Thus, when true, one might say, "I'm a student in the Primary Education Department of the University of Idaho, and I'm making a study of how young Acadian children begin school, for my master's degree." Do not misrepresent your name or your job.

The role of a field worker, which is rarely understood from previous experience, can be better understood if you bring to your community, such publications of themselves or of a local culture area that have already been published. Particularly useful are pictures in those publications, particularly of your own relatives and community. Especially useful are pictures of babies at different developmental levels.

Among the roles to which the culture may assign the anthropologist are those which are both good and bad. Of course, the exact interpretation will depend on the community's previous history. It is possible, for example, that a previous policeman was considered an enemy or friend.

The concept of full-time study of alien culture is quite unbelievable to some groups. In such cases, you may explain by relating it to the nearest occupations or hobbies the group understands. Schulman and Smith (1962:8) finally had to explain themselves as social historians or students of local history. And when Katherine Mayo was researching Surinam, East Indies, she explained her mission by saying "that the Queen of the Netherlands had sent me especially to find out the East Indian group in this /distant/ part of the kingdom were getting on" (Speckmann 1967:70). Again, one Indic explained the activities of an anthropologist visiting his village by saying that the latter 'was really a medical officer on a /academic/ 'course'; when I had learned to talk their language with real fluency I would return to my /military/ regiment and receive an increase in pay." (Carstairs 1961:542).

Typical of the devices used where no explanation of the normal type would do is that proposed by Jones (1968:86), which we mention with neither approval nor disapproval. He would introduce a professionally trained anthropologist in a minor capacity as an assistant to one of the technicians. When the technician leaves the village, the assistant is left behind to service the equipment. This gives him a reason for being around. It requires little of his time and allows him quietly to observe community responses.

One way to make your true position clear, if you plan to come for any number of times to a given community rather than once only, is to hold a modest celebration for the entire community. This system will enable as many people as possible to see personally that any fantasies of value are inconsistent with your acts and appearance. Early in your study, determine whether this particular community has a strong fear or no reaction to note-taking; the attitude may depend upon previous events such as visits as tax collectors.

In general, the ethnological role may be misinterpreted as one of the following dangerous rumored roles: government informer, tax agent, policeman, missionary, cannibal (!), savior. Thus, DenHollander (1967:13), researching southern Georgia in the depression year 1932, was rumored to be a site scout for a rayon manufacturer. The population thereupon gave him nothing but commendatory reports, and he could accomplish no real probing.

HOW TO SELECT AN INTRODUCER

Your sponsor, which is likely to be your current employer or the university at which you are studying, may well have no contacts in the target area. Hence it can do little more than give you credentials (discussed in the chapter on equipment to be taken). Between it and your area, then, you need, even if only momentarily, another echelon -- someone to fill the role of "introducer." Such a person bridges the social gap between you and (1) the "surveyor," or ex-native who knows where data are available, and (2) the inhabitant informant.

The introducer may know only your sponsor, such as your faculty adviser, and be recommended to you by that sponsor as someone who vaguely knows who's who around your target area. Thus, when Powdermaker sought to study Indianola, Mississippi, she did not know how to begin. The boarding houses in the town "had no room for me. I did not know that the houses were literally full or if they had no room for an undentified Yankee." Then she remembered that a publishing acquaintance had given her a letter of introduction to an aristocrat who lived 40 miles away. She telephoned him. He had her visit, and telephoned the mayor of Indianola that he hoped "you will make her comfortable." From then on she was accepted by all the important white people in Indianola (1966:138-41).

One easy entree for a person connected with a school system is to find in advance of travel, a schoolperson in the target area, whether or not she is of the target ethnicity. By corresponding with and telephoning her, you have an intermediary -- to, for example, teacher aides, who are probably of the target ethnicity, and through them to students. Thus, when a researcher sought to study race relations in a small town and was given a choice of title from the State Superintendent of Education, she selected that one which was likely to enable her to gain the most cooperation in the most places: "visiting teacher," as attested by a letter of introduction that he then wrote for her (Powdermaker 1966:136). If you are connected with an educational institution, it might likewise be wise to have its principal or leader write you a 'To Whom it May Concern" letter explaining that you are doing certain type of research. You might later use it to arrange to attend a meeting of all the County School Superintendents. One fieldworker did so and was later able to go into any rural area, visit the schoolhouse, and meet the principal, who would probably remember her. In this way, he would not hesitate (safely accompanied by his own wife!) to chauffeur her wherever she wished in that county (Powdermaker 1966:158).

Select an intermediary who is respected by the community. One such category is physician. Although he is wealthier than the others, most citizens feel that they must remain on good terms with him since they may

need him in emergency. Thus, when I spent several weeks in a mixed-economy Mexican city, I had as sponsor one of the town's leading physicians who was also (as is common in Mexico) interested in local politics. He was able to provide data of, or introductions to, many classes and occupations, from cardinal to architect to local Marxists.

Ethnicity is often preserved by a cultural organization (such as that of the Japanese-Americans in Kansas City, Soka Gak(k)ai). Hence keep inquiring about such groups' existence. In a similar way, a fieldworker began a study of a Deep South town's Negro community by learning the name of the unofficial women's leader of the Negro community, and visited her to gain her sponsorship. The latter invited the researcher with her to church, and introduced her to the minister. He asked the visitor to speak a few words from the pulpit. She said simply that she wished to get to know the people and to learn their lives. After the services, she joined the congregation in the churchyard. Thenceforth, she had no problem in gaining reasonable information and entree from the Negro community. From then on, she on each Sunday morning went to a Negro church of a different denomination, thus meeting many people representing all social classes, since everyone went to one church or another (Powdermaker 1966:146).

HOW TO ARRIVE IN THE SELECTED COMMUNITY

The philosopher-of-science, Karl R. Popper, has argued that there should be a cycle from observation to hypothesis to verificational (or disverificational) observation to redirected hypothesis, and so on. We recommend a similar cycle for your understanding of ethnicity: from reading to hypothesis to fieldwork observation (and perhaps experiment), back to reading, and so on.

Because we assume you to live in a complex culture such as a large city, you have a great advantage over the remotely-settled anthropologist. You can follow the "Popperian sequence," with weekdays at your regular occupation or study and reading, and weekends in fieldwork. He can hardly fly from New Guinea to Boston for the constant intellectual recycling recommended by the Popperian approach!

But the fieldwork phase of the Popperian cycle involves more than visual observation:

> To understand a strange society, the anthropologist has traditionally immersed himself in it, learning, as far as possible, to think, see, feel, and sometimes act as a member of its culture and at the same time as a trained anthropologist from another culture. This is the heart of the participant observation method - involvement and detachment. Its practice is both an art and a science. Involvement is necessary to understand the psychological realities of a culture, that is, its meanings for the indigenous members. Detachment is necessary to construct the abstract reality: a network of social relations including the rules and how they function - not necessarily real to the people studied.
>
> Field work is a deeply human as well as a scientific experience and a detailed knowledge of both aspects is an important source of data. (Powdermaker 1966:9).

Occasionally but rarely it is necessary to obtain some official permission to enter, such as a special type of reservation.

Such fieldwork might begin in progressive amounts. First you might merely drive through the area for an hour. After considering your notes and doing further reading, you might return to contact an informant for perhaps half an hour. After the next study, you might arrange a lunch; and these episodes might lead to an entire afternoon and then a full day.

Carry pencil and paper every minute; even place it at your bedside.

Modern technology makes print communication possible even in the poorest neighborhoods, where there will be some sort of mimeographed bulletin, perhaps issued by a nationalist group. Since that same group is probably more literate than the surroundings, it may provide a source of data. Hence you may as well visit it early and frankly tell your mission, thus seeming to flatter the group. In one Mexican town, my host arranged for this to happen; even though the interviewer was quite hostile at first, he ended up by writing a very favorable story. Similarly, to enable her assistants to get native mining employees to agree to be interviewed by native assistants in Northern Rhodesia, one anthropologist arranged with a senior African worker to announce the innocent nature of her study over the loudspeaker in an amphitheater when a movie audience was present (Powdermaker 1966:257).

Tell any host you may acquire that you would like to spend your time as if you were a normal inhabitant of that community. You want to shell beans, and pump water, and cut firewood and wait in welfare queues. You do not want to see mansions and monuments.

Similarly when Powdermaker (1966:60) had settled for a few days in Lesu, Melanesia, the native leader with her consent assembled the villagers at her home. In her pidgin dialect, she explained that her (Yankee) people at home did not know much about Lesu, and had sent her to understand their customs, which she would do by writing a book. She circulated books written by others that included photos of dark-skinner people. She argued that her prestige on return would depend on how much she had accurately learned. The natives were flattered that she had come so great a distance to learn about them, and promised to help.

Your first few visits should allow you to be seen regularly and widely. They should simultaneously detail the target area physically and socially. You can do so by mapping the community, censusing it, and rostering its artifacts such as tools.

It is good to ask early about social organization, which interests ethnics more than Anglos. Hence in this early period, following mapping, you might begin to census names, relationships, and ages on each household in the community, or at least near you. Such genealogical information underlies social structure, and that underlies the normal operation of the community. Especially is this true in the non-"contract" world that lies outside Yankeeism.

Avoid joining one faction in a factional situation unless (as may occur in a very polarized society such as certain Pueblos) you "gotta be this or that."

Sleeping involves crucial cultural matters such as hygiene and sex. Consequently, the crucial stage in your penetration of the ethnicity is sleeping overnight.

Commercialization befits the complex society and not necessarily that of the ethnic minority. Hence you cannot expect to find such commonplaces as hotels; the functional equivalents such as flophouses would, of course, create images unsuitable to your research. You will usually have to arrange lodging with an inhabitant family. Once you have passed that stage, you are in an easier position to spend several days there continuously.

Only at about this point can you, in an isolated community, hold some sort of celebration, a matter of course arranged through the local leaders.

The natives will laugh at the researcher's errors and breaches of etiquette, at, in a word, his queer habits. Gradually he will come to be taken for granted, hence not be the cause of lowering one's voice as he passes.

HOW TO SELECT A SURVEYOR

An outsider knows neither cognitively nor affectively the sources of information he needs. To obtain them he generally requires a person who is neither his sponsor (such as his university) nor his informant (such as the typical native) but a data-intermediary. We shall term such a person a surveyor.

The surveyor (unlike the actual informant) might better be an ex-inhabitant than a present inhabitant. Since he must become rather familiar with your entire scheme, and even your time program, it is better not to have this total plan leak back, for again the concept of such a program is unusual to the natives, who will fear it as a prelude to new taxes, conscription, urban resettlement, or other disruption. Furthermore, the ex-inhabitant is probably more cosmopolitan than the inhabitant. The former resident can be less pressured, less silenced, by the villagers.

Social types suitable for "surveyors" are: retirees, especially those who have felt a decrease in influence and wish to regain power; emigrees not too different in status from their peers who remained.

Thus, an excellent surveyor of a Yaqui Amerindian village was a resident cripple who was commonly considered of no economic value (Jones 1968:64).

Either the sponsor or local authorities can probably name a person who is familiar with the target area and yet no longer resides there.

HOW TO SELECT INFORMANTS

Interpreters and go-betweens are often marginal persons, making them both ignorant of certain parts of the native culture and valuable to you as a bridge. Detailed information on the many sectors of the culture cannot come from the data-surveyor, who principally tells you where and how to learn that information. It comes from a different level whom we shall call the informant(s).

One way to find competent helpers is to ask organizations that have done research in the same area. You will of course find more sympathetic (even if less "scientifically trained") observers if the organizations you approach are those of native groups (such, in Arizona, at the Navajo Tribal Council) rather than Anglo groups (such as tax collectors!). Thus, in Sensuron, North Borneo, Williams (1967:29) accelerated his entree to the community by interacting with the important people there: --For his family's household assistant, he identified and selected a sixteen year old girl whose grandmother was a leading female ritual specialist. The girl had also been trained as one, and was closely related to six persons holding key positions in that community. Her special knowledge and ability, therefore, gave meaningful and accurate details, and she was readily accepted by key people in the community.

If for your overnight stays you have any choice of residence, you will want to locate yourself with a host who is centrally located. Then while you are apparently merely at home, you are actually able to watch and listen to a cross section of the neighborhood. If possible, get as a work place, an outside shelter such as a porch, so that you can see about you while you appear to be working.

There will always be one or a few persons, often a translator, who becomes a permanent part of the emotional life of the observer. It will not be difficult for a sensitive observer to identify if people like him; thus, one native family named their newborn child after the visiting anthropologist's portable radio (Williams 1967:59). In another case, an indigene named his twins after the titles of two pamphlets carried by a field healthworker.*

*Syphilis and Gonorrhea ("Syphilia and Gonora"), according to Eugene A. Nida, Customs and Cultures (New York: Harper, 1954, page 215).

WHAT TO LOOK FOR

Anthropology argues the holism, the interconnection, of parts of human behavior. Hence the problem that you may consider limited (such as improving ethnic pupils' spelling) is no doubt more broadly interlinked. For virtually every problem and interest that you may have in an ethnicity, then, we must recommend as a crucial first step, the gathering of a total-sectoral description, or ethnography. And its very compilation, which will likely take hundreds of hours, will tend to show you the roots of your more specific problem.

Your first visits, which may take several months of part-time, should be to understand the culture, to do the ethnography. You must determine in advance whether you are coming as a mere observer and interpreter of culture, or as an agent of directing change. Many groups are charged with the latter duty, such as government officer and missionary. It is suggested that unless you have a very clear-cut mission from a clear-cut organization, you restrain your observations and duties to the former role and make no attempt--for several years at least--to make any changes in that culture. You will be very busied indeed by understanding what it is at present.

Directing cultural change is far more difficult than it may seem to be. 400 publications on the subject, and the principles that may be induced from them, appear in Burger (1967). You should expect to find confusion among the natives as to their goals, and even greater confusion as to the means toward their goals; this situation is due to the suppressive forces and general lack of polyethnic understanding by the dominant culture, and not to "low intelligence" (Burger 1969).

The following matters to watch for, not necessarily to ask directly for. The idea of a consecutive questionnaire is particularly Occidental!

A general goal is the 11-part Hallian Ethnography, as explained in the definitions chapter. But fieldworkers will usually wish to collect far more categorized data than those 11, even if they eventually reduce them into those 11.

The types of item to be reported in your basic ethnography could, then, be this broader group. We have adapted if from McFee's (1968:1104-07) adaptation of George Spindler's study of Menomini Amerindians.

1. Name, and your serial number, of the person being studied for group generalization. (Has or hasn't native name.) (Interviewee may wish to conceal it.)

2. Age.
3. Degree of native ethnicity ("blood").
4. Geographical location within the target area. (in a store-including town; in a school-including community; near main highway; in backwoods.)
5. Marital status and number of children (marriage common-law, church, or civil).
6. Education.
7. Source of subsistence: A. annual income. B. occupational type: ("Council" includes both indigenous, i.e., tribal, and imposed, such as Bureau of Indian Affairs.)
   Type 1: Rancher, business proprietor, supervisor in council.
   Type 2: Clerk in council. Teacher. Tradesman.
   Type 3: Regular laborer: farm or ranch, railroad, council, construction.
   Type 4: Regular seasonal laborer: wage labor, clerical, other.
   Type 5: Irregular wage labor; migrant under contract; self-seeking migrant.

By means of this "occupational type," you will later be able to answer crucial questions, such as what happens to the young ethnic after he drops out of high school.

C. Land ownership.
   Allotted, inherited, or purchased (if owned).
   In trust or in fee patent (salable).
D. Income from land/minerals. E. Income from salary or wages.
F. Non-owner: user (family land rent free, or leased land) or non-user.
   Public income: pension, welfare, insurance, other.
G. Other income.

8. Home:
A. Ownership:
   Separate house or apartment (including barracks).
   Lives in own house.
   Condominium.
   Rents house owned by others.
   Uses house owned by others rent-free.
   Lives with (which) relatives.
B. Type: 1, frame. 2, log. 3, cabin or shack. 4, earthen.
   C. Number of rooms. D. Number of occupants. E. Condition of home.
   F. Water sources:
      1. Indoor running water: a, communal; b, private well.
      2. Pumpable water from own well.
      3. Hand-carried from community well, hydrant, or neighbors.
      4. Hand-carried from stream or spring.
      5. Trucked in (commercially or otherwise).
   G. Sanitation:
      1. Bathroom: a, operational; b, ailing. 2. outdoor privy.
         3. outdoor trench. 4. No provision.
   H. Furnishings: i. Native-type or dominant-type.
      ii. Heating type: Stove gas, electric, wood. Indoors, outdoors.
          Heating: central, circulating, or space.
          Cooling.
      iii. Telephone. iv. Radio. v. Black-and-white or color television.

9. Automobile or truck: type, year, condition.
10. Political activity (local interest; local activity; interest in outside politics; party affiliation.
11. Language.
A. Dominant-culture language. B. Minority language or dialect.
For each: i. use: amount in home, at work, at socials.
ii. Fluency.

Even if the language is the same, chances are that vocabulary, gestures, and tokens (materializations of symbols, such as gifts) are not. Hence you should gradually compile a glossary.

12. Type of literature.
A. Books, magazines, and newspapers. B. Newspapers and magazines.
C. Pulp magazines and comics. D. Little or none.
13. Kinship: parental status: father, mother.
Fraction native. Years of education. Occupation. Language. Religion.
14. Religion.
A. Native. i. Membership (yes, dormant, no). ii. Attendance: regular, occasional, never. iii. participation: full, partial, some and believes, some but does not believe.
B. Dominant-culture. i. Membership (yes, dormant, no).
ii. Attendance: regular, occasional, never. iii. Denomination.
15. Technology: A. Economic. Operates how many and which machines (field, office). Designed how many and which devices. B. Medical. For 'instrumental' ailments, % of use of facilities: dominant, native, home, none. For 'psychiatric' ailments: % of use of facilities: dominant, native, home, none.
16. Charms, myth, magic (investigate gingerly!).
Knowledge: deep, some, mere awareness, no awareness.
Possession: many, some, few or none.
17. Recreation: Athletics (Participation; attendance). Dancing (native: participation, attendance; dominant: participation, attendance). Hunting and fishing (not for subsistence). Drinking. Movies and group television: ego's home, neighborhood, commercially. Travel for pleasure: Frequency. Purpose: i, ethnic gathering. ii, friends and relatives. iii, sightseeing. Distance (miles). Games: motoric (e.g., stick games); symbolic (e.g., cards).
18. Organizations.
Native: local, regional, national.
Dominant: religious besides church; service clubs; veterans; pre-occupational (e.g. Future Farmers); professional.
Degree of participation: frequent or rare, officer or member.
19. Social visibility: high, moderate, low.

Personality is not unitary as sometimes argued by some psychologists, but is situational, depending on the sociology. Thus, the unofficial woman's leader of the Negro community, who comfortably acted as a fellow to a Northern researcher, would, in the office of the (white) County Superintendent of Education, accept the meekest of roles (Powdermaker 1966:49).

20. Military service: Dominant culture or elsewhere; where served; years.

The foregoing is, then, a checklist that details the Hallian Ethnography of 11 sectors into a not-quite-parallel checklist of scores of items.

Because it was designed for individual interviewing, it tends to neglect the many societal factors (such as manners and ceremonies) of which, and of the significance of which, the indigenes themselves may be unaware.

The ethnography, then, is the major "item" to look for in your target ethnicity. If you first do a static ethnography, and then an ethnography of recent change, your curious mind will readily find special problems thenceforth to study.

A particularly important theory to confirm or disconfirm follows from Marvin Harris's recent (1968) book, The Rise of Anthropological Theory. It is the extent to which technological/economic/ecological factors do determine the other sectors of life. Are the behaviors in your target ethnicity really (as Harris argues) geared to optimal long-range economic benefit? Does the lavish funeral display, for example, have a long-range advantage to the host, such as gaining prestige that he can command when at uncertain future times he should be in need?

Distinguish the static from the dynamic. If one aspect of the area is undergoing change that does not seem yet to have affected the other sectors, first aim at a static ethnography describing things before or without that intrusion (such as the construction of a new highway). Only then should you, separately, prepare an ethnography of the changing community--of how, for example, the highway workers' wages are flowing through a local tavern into the expansion of the marketplace.

In this day of rapid transportation and communication, no community is entirely independent. Therefore, preferably after you have noted the apparently self-sufficient aspects of the target ethnicity, you should research its ties to the larger community.

Be wary on religious and sexual subjects. One young man photographed an underground religious site; now, decades later, his discipline is still suspect in that Amerindian group. Also avoid, at least obviously, seeking the types of data about which the ethnics seem sensitive. Thus in Sensuron, North Borneo, visitors are discouraged from touring the grounds in which are buried the hands chopped off enemies (Williams 1967:18).

Each of the sectors of the Hallian Ethnography, such as social organization and religion, is the subject of one or more complete courses in a cultural-science curriculum. This fieldwork introduction cannot, then, attempt to detail their theories (for recent accounts of which, see a review such as Biennial Review of Anthropology) nor their criteria and indications (for which this manual lists references such as Notes and Queries).

HOW TO SEEK THE INFORMATION YOU DESIRE

The general rule in doing social-science work is to utilize as many different sources of information as possible. Any one will be misleading if considered alone. There are several ways of identifying a culture: by interviewing insiders, or natives (the "emic" way) and by observing behavior as an outsider (the "etic" way). Most members of a community do not perceive the full repertory of forms, functions, and meaning of their own culture. Especially is this true of persons holding and "ascribed" status. By contrast, persons hold an achieved status usually are keenly aware of the steps they have had to perform to achieve it.

You might jot down the one or two dozen major data you are seeking, and fasten them in some place where you can constantly refer to them, as in the inside of a sleeve cuff.

Gather data from holistic situations, not merely ideas and published speeches. Also use architectual observation, crop analysis, folk interviews, etc. Generally observe what is happening and being said. This would include meetings on community problems, politics, recreation, and religion.

Intensively interviews with special (and representative) individuals, especially on sentiments and social organization.

Use records (census, employment bureaus, schools, welfare). Study public opinion polls. Overhear gossip, especially about the very persons you have interviewed in depth. Observe neighborhood bulletins (e.g. mimeographed by housing developments), bulletin boards (e.g., used furniture for sale, boarders wanted).

Anthropology questions emphasis on emic ideology, and emphasizes etic structure (Deutscher 1966). For example, near Jamesport, Missouri, both Anglos and Amish reported amicable relations to Gangel (1969:7). Yet while he was dining with an Amish family, a carload of speeding Anglo teeners threw cherry bombs twice into his hosts' yard!

Similarly, appearance (cf. phenotype) must not be confused with behavior (cf. genotype). For example, consider the so-called modernization of the Eskimos. One such phenotype appears as those residing near Anglo trading posts wear wristwatches. This fact would seem to indicate that they have become acculturated to the Yankee concept of the importance of time, rather than a more Eskimo concept of timelessness. In fact, the wristwatch may somewhere be worn more as a token of modern dress than as a timepiece.

Participant observation balances emic/attitudinal and etic/behavioral:

The participant observation method was forged in the study of small homogeneous societies, in which the anthropologist lived for an extended period of time, participated in them, learned the language, interviewed, and constantly observed. He followed long and devious sequences, such as those involved in initiation rites, which might be six or more months in preparation, and observed the minutiae of daily life in which they occurred. His record and observations of life were not unlike those of the natural historian. But he went beyond that and worked on anthropological problems such as kinship systems, forms of marriage and of residence, economic and political organization, religious and magical beliefs and rituals, myths and folk tales, and many others. He asked questions in structured and unstructured interviews, and noted whether or not the answers agreed completely with the actual behavior. He made mistakes and learned from them. Often he stumbled upon facts and problems about which he would not have known enough to ask in advance. Usually he had a close friendship with a few of the indigenous people, and he knew more or less well a considerable number of others. (Powdermaker 1966:285).

Thus, when the same researcher (1966:11-13) was studying Lesu, Southwest Pacific, an initiation rite took place for boys reaching puberty. The women invited her to join in the dance. She did so for a few minutes. "From then on the quality of my relationships with the women was different..... They came of their own accord to visit me and to talk intimately about their lives."

Participation justifies your presence and should be done where circumstances allow. Thus, when some Navahos with whom I was staying began their annual branding of calves, I helped shoo the adult cattle away--rather safe although it doesn't sound so. But I did not help throw the calves to the ground, for one false move in that operation in which I had no experience could have evoked a near-fatal kick.

HOW TO BEHAVE SOCIALLY

Credentials are of little meaning interculturally. Hence your goals will be judged by your behavior. And that will be observed meticulously.

To be most comfortable socially, you might do your fieldwork in couples rather than singly (especially if you are a woman). Your ideal companion would be a 'marginal person,' who is half-way between the two cultures. We describe the identification of such a person in the chapter on selecting a surveyor. Second choice would be your spouse. Another possibility is to work with a fellow employee, such as with a classmate.

Dress and toilet: Without falsely "going native," try to dress reasonably close to the indigenous standard. Be careful to obey the local rules on dress. Thus, women wearing shorts may be offensive because the bare upper thigh is believed in many cultures to be sexually exciting. And unshaven men with thick beards may be equally offensive because certain cultures believe that hairy faces distinguish supernatural beings (Williams 1967:52). When anthropologist Hortense Powdermaker interviewed any Negro male in Indianola, Miss., she made sure that his wife or some other woman of his household were present, to prevent sexual gossip (1966:156).

Women should remember that non-Anglo cultures are almost all (perhaps excluding Scandanavia) more conservative in their allotment of the female role. Therefore they should dress conservatively, avoiding "sexy" garments -- both tight-fitting and the opposite, billowing. They should try to speak only to (native) women, not directly to men.

Stimulants present a real problem. Thus, a custom in Dusun, North Borneo, required a visitor to drink two large cups of rice wine, 'lest his mother-in-law go blind' before he talk importantly with the host. Only gradually did the visitor (Williams 1967:19) learn that his need for many interviews per day need not become as many revels if he would but touch his right finger to any drink and repeat a phrase of ritual acceptance, thereby excusing himself from the alcohol.

The concept of "participant" suggests equal indulgence with the natives in their normal ways. But the concept of "observer" suggests sobriety. Perhaps a reasonable compromise is moderation. All sorts of stratagems must then be utilized, for a rule of groups seems to be the prevention of great differences in sobriety! I have treated many a potted plant to native brews when my conversationalist turned away for a moment. If you scrutinize the natives too closely, they will feel even more estranged from you than they do at present. In this way, when anthropologist Hortense

Powdermaker sought to determine the actions of Northern Rhodesian audiences to movies and to the day's events, she arranged with the (British) District Officer to secure a few African clerks to move around the audience and take notes on what it was saying (1966:244).

The natives' privacy has a corollary concerning your own. Privacy is a concept more pronounced in Anglo-America than in most other cultures. Consequently, when visiting or living-in with ethnics, you must expect more visits. Thus, when the author was staying with an Amerindian group and had retired for the night in a separate hut, I heard a rustling and found that my host's three children (average age six) had somehow slipped in and were silently peering at me. There is little that the researcher can do except say a few pleasant words, perhaps offer the visitors a tidbit of food, and continue with his activities (or, in that case, trying to sleep).

Self-control is necessary, without your expressing value judgments, when you observe customs unusual to your own culture. Thus, when a North Borneo mother found that her six month old baby had defecated on the house floor, she laid him across her knees, then called the five family dogs to lick him clean (Williams 1967:50). Had the anthropologist expressed his shock, he probably would have been barred from many family interviews thereafter.

HOW TO OBSERVE

Try to walk through the community, especially at times where change is occuring, such as going to work time in the morning, or gossip-time in the evening.

Your first impressions will be more distinct than after you become acculturated. Your earliest notes should be copious, even if you do not yet understand the significance of the "irrationalities" that you see. Thus, Margaret Mead in 1963 told a group of us that on arrival in Manus, Melanesia, many years before, she had been surprised to see dogs following young toddlers. Only gradually did she perceive that (1) the children they followed had a certain type of diarrhea, and (2) this ailment would in a few years almost always prove fatal.

As another example, let us consider a note I made while living briefly with a Navajo family: 'Husband sprays insecticide on the many flies on the outside of his kitchen door.' Only later did I perceive that this little incident signified that this community was unaware of the concept of insect control: Only a closed environment such as a house can bugs be managed, for in nature, they will reproduced indefinitely to the optimal density in the lebensraum. New, vast amounts of cattle manure were in the neighborhood, but not inside their homes. Hence outdoor insects could not be reduced. The spraying was a significant waste. This action suggests that hygiene basics would have to be taught before such complexities as vaccinations could be preached; yet I believe that the opposite has been the case there with Yankee intrusions.

Another instance of significant observation occurred among the Kwoma of New Guinea:- Whiting (1941:47) noted that a common game involved children's tossing a rock into the air and trying to hit it with stones before it should reach ground. He observed that through such games they became very adept at hitting moving objects. And he noted that adults had one subsistence activity of hunting wild pigs, during which they had to hit moving animals accurately. Hence the childish "recreation" had probably evolved as economic training, even if unplannedly.

A single observation may explain or exemplify many ethnic sectors. Consider, as one instance, a single note I made one 1968 morning at a cattle roundup: 'Animal runs through corridor and past child. Father speaks to child. Child walks away, leans against fence, cries alone for 10 or 15 minutes.' Later interpreted, I realized that this means that the six-year old Navajo should not have feared the two-ton angry steer; that punishment is by private shaming; that shame is borne by openly and lengthily weeping;

that such crying is not to be comforted. (I do not here discuss the problem of representativeness of sample.)

The social scientist especially seeks to distinguish the physical from the social. In this way, Whiting (1941) noticed that Kwoma parental spanking was between the shoulder blades rather than on the buttocks. Although the child stood upright, he did not escape until after one or two blows. Hence the punishment was enforced not by physical restraint, as when a child is on a lap, but by customary acceptance.

One of your distant goals is probably to help make the ethnicity autonomous. Consequently you should particularly watch for ethnic skills (in both youngsters and adults) that are not being fully utilized. Eventually you would try (as by vocational counseling and perhaps development of new occupations) to have the intercultural situation utilize those abilities.

Observation may be done not only by the researcher himself but also by trained assistants.

To gain an idea of actual native life in Northern Rhodesia, one anthropologist after working for some time with one native, paid him to stay home for a week and write down "everything that was said in his immediate family and among the neighbors from the time they arose in the morning until they went to bed." The material she received was "the stuff of life: the price of food, the purchase of a new coat, where the native beer was being brewed, rumors of witchcraft, gossip about an adultress's husband, talk about work, the union, a football, and children, news or rural relatives, the theft of a bicycle, small irritations, and larger quarrels, anxieties, fears, pleasures were open, language was earthy" (Powdermaker, 1966:270-71).

HOW TO SAMPLE

Multiple informants may be necessary to verify the normality of the data. Such "Rashomon" technique validates memories and eliminates garbling by a single observer, according to Oscar Lewis (1961:xi).

Reducing data to quantities requires creativity. In this way, persons normally migrating with seasons were given partial credit (such as 0.3 human being) as inhabitants of one Djuka village.

If chronological dates are not well known to the group, find out some local memorable event, such as a rebellion, plague, or flood and ask them to estimate when a certain event happened with relation to it. Thus, the same investigator (Köbben 1967:50-51) related all ages to one famous inhabitant, and 'dated' him by asking him how big he'd been when the first, very memorable, bauxite boat went by.

Quantification is important because, to paraphrase Auguste Comte, it mediates between ideas and realities. However, so many factors enter into an anthropological study that findings of a quantitative nature often are based on very narrow hypotheses that omit the very interrelations which anthropology emphasizes. For example, the oft-cited "chi-square," even if significant, merely reveals the probability of some dependence between the variables calculated -- "but the extent of dependence may be virtually zero regardless of the significance level" (Duggan 1968:46). Hence, if you finally reach some point at which you wish to sample or quantify, consult a book not on general statistics but on social science statistics.

HOW TO INTERVIEW

Beyond archiving and observing, interviewing is necessary. This is true because the major rules of culture, or metaculture, are not obvious or normally discussed. Yet human symbols, even if subconscious, do provide general rules for action, maze-ways, providing strong social structures do not deflect them.

There are many methods of interviewing. One may begin with a broad provocation: "Agriculture seems important here. Can you tell me about it?" The same detailed, uninterrupted answer may be obtained by asking about a specific event.

A question may be asked directorly: "Why do some married women wear a shell necklace?" Or, as with embarrassing harmful themes, the site may apparently be removed from the interviewee: "Some people talk bad about other people casting a hex. What do you think?" (cf. Williams 1967:26). The resultant stream-of-consciousness reveals events not observable by ethnographer. It abreacts the interviewee and reveals proportions of values.

By not interfering too much with the stream-of-consciousness, the researcher can learn the interests of the native. Thus, to determine cosmopolitanism and militancy among the Canoncito Navajos, I asked a man what he thought about Vietnam, then the site of a bloody U.S. engagement. Instead, apparently brooding on the local drought, he replied, "Vietnam. Is grass there green and lush?"

The good interviewer will not seem to ask too many direct questions, but rather to seem to listen with excited interest, often repeating the last statement to elicit the interviewee further. Indeed, just such rephrasing of the interviewee is the procedure used in a grammar-transformation computer that is now evoking psychotic patients (Burger 1969:98), thus saving the time of the busy psychiatrist.

Since anthropological investigation concerns sociality as much as quantified "hard" data, interviewees could often best be evoked, according to Powdermaker (1966:156-57), by acting as a social visitor:- The researcher would comment on the beauty of a person in a fading photograph, and the informant would discuss that person and how he affected the family. Group responses that you announce as anonymous must not be secretly encoded individually.

While some interviews are best conducted in groups, deviations from the ideal are best learned in private. When Wagley (1960:400-01) found

his native-Brazilian informant overtoned by other visitors, the two would work in the garden, where the ('lazier') socialites would not interrupt them. Again, a Negro woman in caste-conscious Indianola, Miss., would be visited on a hot summer evening by a white female researcher and invited for a drive. Few cars were on the unlighted gravel road. "Something about the privacy of the car, the darkness of the night and my passive role almost inevitably produced a flow of conversation from my companion about . . . loving husbands, and 'mean' ones, of joys and sorrows . . ." (Powdermaker 1966:160).

You may gain cooperation by addressing potential informant as experienced and wise. In this way, you can determine cultural attitudes toward senility by asking representatives, "Is there some age at which you think people should stop working?" Again, finding Frenchmen skeptical of answering questionnaires, Daniel Lerner (1961:428) would instead give his interviewee the schedule together with the question, "Would you be so kind as to review with us the questionnaire we propose to use and give the benefit of your criticisms?"

Various types of psychological tests may be administered. One must be careful not to confuse their norms, probably calculated on Anglos, with the norms of your target ethnicity. Thus, interpretations of ink blots that psychologists allege as paranoid within Anglo culture have likewise been interpreted among such distant areas as the East Indies (e.g., Abram Kardiner in DuBois 1944:595) -- a very questionable procedure. For some of the problems in adapting psychological tests, see DuBois (1937). Interviews may range from such almost unstructured ones to occasionally guided ones (rather like Jean Piaget's approach) to rigidly stereotyped ones of the behavioristic school, as when one button is to be pressed for yes, another for no.

Either words or signs or materials may be used. Thus, Rorschach ink blots or Goodenough Draw-A-Man tests may be administered; or three-dimensional dolls may be handed to the interviewee for repositioning.

Like observing, some of the interviewing can be entrusted to trained natives. In this way, to identify Bemba-speaking Africans' values, self-imagery, and imagery of Europeans, as well as their ambitions and fantasies, Powdermaker (1966:266) asked teachers to have the children write essays on such themes as, "If you went back to . . . your mother's village and you met a friend who had never seen a European, how would you describe them?"

Validity and reliability of verbal answers can be evaluated in several ways. A question may be asked to many informants, both once and over a period of time. A single informant may be asked the same question repeatedly. And his words may be spot-checked against his behavior, as on such matters as whether persons of his type strike children. Again, an event you have witnessed may be mentioned to an informant for him to describe as if you had not known of it.

HOW TO REPAY THOSE WHO AID YOU

Since an interviewee's telling of his troubles probably serves as a catharsis, you should not feel that you are entirely imposing upon the interviewee, but, somewhat like a psychiatrist, you are also helping him.

An especially useful gift, which will cost you very little in dollars, would be those types of service that would help your interviewee to relate to the complex society. For example, you might aid him in filing application for some sort of welfare.

Training in first aid will make you popular. You must of course observe the limitations on the practice of professional medicine. Taking temperatures can help to identify the seriousness of an ailment. Simple, often patent, medicines can be used effectively against many types of headaches, stomachaches, infections, etc.

In Irian, natives welcomed my chauffeuring them to their destinations, which often coincided with my own.

You can encourage visits by such devices as offers of modest amounts of food or drink, playing a short-wave radio, or giving first aid, especially at particular times of day that are well suited to the type of resident you wish to visit, such as early morning or late afternoon. In a primitive Oceanic area, Powdermaker (1966:63-64) found welcome gifts to include Virginia Emu twist tobacco, spades, knives, tinsel, and jew's harps.

Abalone shells from the West Coast of the U.S.A. are valued by many Indian groups for use in jewelry and sacred objects (Collier 1967:85).

When I stayed with a fairly wealthy host in the state of Durango, Mexico, I could not reasonably pay him in cash. Hence, noting that he seemed fond of his wife yet saw her little because of the press of his profession, I invited his family to restaurants they had not visited for years.

One of the most embarrassing and yet likely situations is that some of the ethnics will consider you wealthy and, even though you do not consider yourself that, will therefore aske you for a "loan" of money. Here we speak of true payment for services rendered to you. By contrast, mere loans or gifts of money, from persons not especially deserving for ethnographic services rendered to you, should immediately be refused in a cordial way. You must have a ready explanation. One possible explanation could be that "honoring such requests would change our position in the community," an explanation that was generally accepted and used by Williams (1967:49) in North Borneo.

If you must make cash payment for information services, determine the rate of pay by striking a balance somewhere between the normal income of the average village family--probably partially unemployed--and the wage paid by local government for laborers and clerks.

If you are performing your research while on the full-time payroll of an organization (rather than a student, even if on a scholarship), your learning obviously has monetary value. Hence your institution should share the tuition with the natives who are truly instructing you. In such a case, you have the leverage (about $30 a day for an overnight guest among Navajos who were near cities) to accelerate your research by legitimately buying full-time of your host and/or his family, who are likely employed only about half-time otherwise.

In such a case, the exact terms of payment must be made crystal-clear. It is suggested that your organization make the arrangements, and you bring half the full payment as advance, in check rather than cash (even the most remote hamlets know how to cash checks!). Or the first half could as well be in merchandise as in cash, providing you know the area well enough to understand what foods fit the diet and refrigeration facilities, etc. The other half could be promised on a letterhead statement of the total amount and how and when the other half will be paid. One institution I know did not clarify this, nor did it give the researcher any payment to take. As a result, an ethnic aged about four was "sicked" onto me for hours to keep dumbly asking, "Daddy say, you to pay!"

Gifts for children simultaneously please their related adults. And the very items that help children grow and understand the world are those which are cheaper than the completed ones. Particularly is this situation true where the ethnicity has a tradition of craftsmanship.

Thus, when I visited Pueblo neighborhoods, a very satisfactory gift for children was found to be a string-it-yourself bead kit, costing half a dollar.

Presents should in general be given to the most prestigious persons, especially elders, rather than to lower-ranking persons such as children, even if the presents are designed for children (Kobben 1967:40).

Because poverty may pressure the person who owns or receives, your gifts should be given privately.

WHAT TO RECORD

Records both what is expected to happen and actually does happen.

Be certain to record data that seem to contradict your suppositions or even the findings of others. There are many reasons for this recommendation. First, it helps you see the difference between phenomenon and significance. Thus, the lavish distribution or destruction of property ("potlatch") seems to the outside observer as maladaptive to the ecology. Yet the questioning that it provokes may reveal it to create social obligations that enable the claiming of similar distributions from a neighboring social group in time of differential seasonality (cf. Harris 1968:313).

Again, your observation may disprove the earlier one, regardless of how prestigious.

Most frequently, however, your disconfirmation will help to show the limits of the earlier observation, which may still remain true under other conditions. Thus, Ward Goodenough found 20% less patrilocality on tiny Truk Island than had John Fischer a mere three years before. This paradox led to the discovery that residence rules were tempered by such factors as amounts of land available (Bohannan 1963:90-92). For a list of some cases of restudy of an area (with the results sometimes classified as supporting, sometimes as disconfirming, the original study), see DenHollander (1967:28-29).

The need to record surprises and contradictions was well explained by Charles Darwin: "Whenever a published fact, a new observation or thought, came accross me which was opposed to my general results, /my policy was/ to make a memorandum of it without fail and at once; for I had found by experience that such facts and thoughts were far more apt to escape from the memory than favorable ones" (quoted in Sigmund Freud, Zur Psychopathologie des Alltagslebens, ca. 1904. Translated from 4th German ed. by A. A. Brill as Psychopathology of Everyday Life. New York, Macmillan, 1914, page 155).

WHERE TO RECORD OBSERVATIONS

Onto your enlarged neighborhood map, you can add, in a bright pencil, residences, gardens, paths, roads, swamps, etc. For such a sketch in an unmapped area--a Kwoma village in New Guinea--see (Whiting 1941:10).

Movies have the advantage of synchronizing behavior with gesture, the individual with the group. If in sound, they enable you leisurely to interpret the relation of symbol to action.

Since people do not speak as freely if you are writing during the interview, it might be wise to carry an inconspicuous notebook, and only pull it out when a particular fact has to be remembered, such as the number of acres farmed. In such a case, you might explain that your memory in numbers is weak, and ask permission to write down the item.

"In this [Indic] village the writing down of names at once conjured up memories of interminable lawsuits and, less obviously, the practice of sorcery" (Carstairs 1961:542). Yet in New Ireland, a funeral is not necessarily mournful, and a visiting anthropologist is even encouraged to make notes during the burial (Powdermaker 1966:85).

You may make your notes in a continuous diary or on separate pieces of paper. The advantage of the diary is that it shows sequence. The advantage of the separate pieces of paper is that it may be filed by topic rather than by sequence. If you use the latter method, however, be sure before you begin each day's work to give a sequential number and date to each sheet you might use, since once you get busy you will not have time to mark such material.

Particularly useful if you use separate sheets would be, instead, cards with holes punched at the edges. Thereby, you can punch holes representing several ideas onto a single card, and so not have to rewrite the data of that card for each idea to which you wish to cross-reference it. An index is then made to potential ideas, such as "Discipline of children, = HRAF number 861." "House building materials = HRAF number 339." (These Human Relations Area File numbers are discussed elsewhere as Murdock and others (1961) Outline of Cultural Materials.)

Then, whenever you wish to find all your notes on such a subject as discipline of children, you simply look up the number in your index, and run a pin or nail through the appropriately numbered hole and pull out all cards thereby punched. This can be done by hand punching, and requires no machine.

It is suggested that you use already standardized numbers for the

elements in the culture that interests you. A series of just such numbers has already been prepared, as noted above, by Human Relations Area Files. The foregoing numbers for discipline and for home building were taken from its codification.

It is wise to write up your notes the same day as you make your observations--even if this means by flashlight at 11:00 P.M.

HOW TO RECORD OBSERVATIONS

It is not enough to note the type of behavior; you must also note the cultural surrounding. Thus, Williams (1967:24) found that among the Dunsun of North Borneo, a wife might be flogged in public. Sometimes, however, the flogging would indicate that she had a sickness whose magical cause would best be driven away by this public show of dislike of the sickness. At other times, it would mean that she was periodically 'showing the strength of her husband' (1967:24).

Always assume that there is a motive behind social actions, even if it is 'metaculture' that is dimly perceived by the natives. Do not assume irrationality. Thus, in French Canada, Everett C. Hughes (1943, quoted in Junker 1960:26) found surprisingly that daughters of his upper-class informant were working in a stenography-type position in an English silk factory. He then hypothesized that they "there meet the only young men /viz., English white-collar young executives/ whose future looks rosy enough to make them good marriage prospects."

As you become acquainted with the target area, your notes may decrease and begin to focus on your problem area. But at first, it is good training to record the day's events in detail, merely to force yourself into keen observation and memory. To do so, you might reserve a full hour just before falling asleep. Your latern will attract every species of insect, but you will brush them off without thought as you chuckle over the day's events. Here is a midnight reminiscence of a single hour (seven to eight p.m.) by an ethnographer in Mindoro, Philippines:

> 1900 I fill out the daily work, agricultural, sickness, and food charts with the help of representatives of each household at Parina, and take up where I left off with my notes on last night's doings. Several girls from Ayakan's house are now spinning cotton thread on the floor of my house in the reflected light of the drying fire. The older men and those just in from the fields are chewing betel and discussing the prospects of a good rice harvest. The melodic individual calls of four or five Parina women inform us that the water carriers and swidden watchers (for monkeys, birds, and wild pigs) from Badyang are returning. Cooking fires are kindled and women prepare the evening meal while young folks practice chanting and playing musical instruments. Two are strumming bamboo zithers, two are playing a jew's-harp duet, and one boy is practicing on a large but nevertheless all-human-hair-strung guitar (Conklin 1960:123).

Again, Williams reported on North Borneo children's play, without claim-

ing fully to understand it: '9 year old sister squats on porch, looks out over yard, asks 8-year old brother something I cannot hear; brother sticks tongue out sharply. M rotates her pelvis. Brother runs into house. M runs in after him' (Williams 1967:38, here censored by H.G.B.). He then classified this item under half a dozen headings, such as gestures and sexual behavior.

Detail may be as great as you wish. In fact, an entire book (Barker and Wright 1951) has been devoted to describing one boy's day. In it and later books, the authors sought to specify the type of action, time, and place -- broadly, the "predicate."

HOW TO RESPOND TO ETHNIC INITIATIVES

Often the community will, sensing that you are from a different culture or a different class, ask you questions. Such questions might concern aspects of your own community, which the ethnics have not frequently seen: styles of house building, concepts of justice, time, honesty, economics, omens. A frequent one, embarrassing to unmarried female researchers, concerns marital status: why, etc.

Unless a question is circumstantially improper, you should answer frankly and briefly, then return to your work.

If your ethnic friends advise a certain action, do it unless it is too expensive or repugnant. Thus, Bohannan (1954:37-38) was advised (in Uganda, Africa?) to send a piece of ram to an enemy. She obeyed. Only later did she learn that her friends knew this foe was attempting to steal from her, and a custom forbade a meat-acceptor from stealing.

Because it insults your host to refuse food outright, be prepared to take all items, even if you then find excuses to eat only one or two dishes that are more likely to be safe for you. I have at times eaten grasshoppers and, when with Blackfoot Amerindians, fly-covered soup.

If you are invited to an informal or formal meeting of the group, do not address it unless you are urged to do so. Then do so only very briefly and formally. Resist the urge to advise the group how it might 'better' itself! (Thus, the director of Rough Rock Demonstration School*, Hon. Dillon Platero, invited me to bring Prof. Arthur A. Niehoff to its school board meeting. Fortunately, we perceived that our function at the event, which turned out to be very memorable, was to reveal anthropology's concern with and appreciation of their efforts, rather than to give that highly innovative group any pointers on how to innovate!)

If you receive unexpected gifts, you are by almost any culture's custom expected to make restitution. It may be wise for you to inquire discreetly of neighbors to identify the nature of the gift that the giver really expects in return. Generally, these will be reasonable; in North Borneo, gifts expected of the U.S. visitor were usually small, such as a pipe, a piece of cloth, a bead necklace, or a box of shotgun shells (Williams 1967:49).

*The school not only serves Navajo Amerindian pupils, but is managed by Navajos.

HOW TO COUNTERACT EXTERNAL TROUBLE

The Code of Ethics of Society for Applied Anthropology (1963-64:395) requires, among other things, that you protect the anonymity of data sources, work for the long-range interests of the target ethnicity, and make your findings public. Similarly, ethical codes have been announced by American Anthropological Association (1967:381-82), particularly warning against but apparently not absolutely prohibiting, sponsorship by mission-oriented branches of (any) government, such as the U.S. Department of Defense. As a member and a fellow of both societies, the present author importunes your compliance. Illustrations of real-life difficulties involving ethics appear in Barnes (1967).

Because your target ethnicity has probably been subjugated economically or otherwise, there are doubtless many persons in it who are angry. You, as an outsider, draw off their hatreds. There often have been tense racial and political situations in the area you may be studying; there are always opportunistic local politicians seeking to hunt headlines by spreading rumors about your work (Gutkind 1967b:162).

Regardless of the purity of your intent, some of your actions in attaining it will be misunderstood. For example, Pueblo clowns have certain semi-sacred functions. Researcher John Adair (1960:493) was told a native name for one such clown, and noted it. Although he kept his notes hidden under his mattress, a spy discovered the sentence, and Adair was pressured out of the house. You must, then, expect to encounter one or more "devils." Their reasons for animosity are probably very complex and although pointed at you probably are much deeper.

Consequently, all you can do is quietly try to give moderate, factual answers to a "devil's" accusations, and <u>not</u> to volunteer additional encounters (as was attempted a few years ago at a South American campus by a Yankee politician totally untrained in ethnicity.) Remain if possible with your ethnic guide (surveyor, informant, etc.), in front of whom, as a fellow ethnic, the "devil" must moderate his criticism.

A case appears in Lesu, where a female investigator stumbled onto a group of native men rehearsing a dance taboo for women to see. She, realizing that they had seen her, simply walked past them with her head averted and on to the next hamlet (Powdermaker 1966:67).

Again, when she ended her need for one Northern Rhodesian, he promptly began to spread rumors that she was a potential kidnapper--probably a device for blackmailing her. She immediately went to see the District Commissioner to scotch the rumor. He ordered a hearing for the youth and his father, described the rumors, and sternly told father and son that the rumors had to

stop; for his part, he would see the youth receive back his former (pre-Powdermaker) job. The rumors ceased (1966:254).

As you become more familiar with the target area, broaden your data sources. Your principal informant may feel that he has told you too much and may begin to feel that he has lost your respect and that of his "betrayed" fellows.

Do not allow yourself to be brought into an argument, such as between key people of a culture, or between government officials in the community. But do make notes of the content of the dispute to help you understand how the parts of the community relate to one another and to the outside world. In this way, when a fieldworker was asked by pro-independent-federation Northern Rhodesians as to whether she favored the federation, she wisely replied that her anthropological study was non-political. As a foreigner she would not be allowed, she argued, to participate in Northern Rhodesian politics. She had, she continued, no connection with the mines or government [both of which were hated by some natives] (Powdermaker 1966:251-256).

The enthnographer comes to know the details of personality that are unnoticed and unappreciated by even friends and relatives of informants. He usually comes to be invested with belonging in the most intimate lives and plans of the community. Hence it is better to phase out your departure, over a period of months of years, than suddenly to decide never to visit the community again. If the latter is necessary, such as being caused by your moving to another state, it may be desirable to have a departure feast. In one case, the wise visitor paid some money to the headman in North Borneo to be used for 'divination of any misfortune caused by his leaving' (Williams 1967:55).

HOW TO COUNTERACT YOUR PERSONAL PROBLEMS

The complexity of a different culture is so great that it requires your full attention. Another advantage of 'intermittent ethnography' is that you may escape to your own world whenever you have too great problems, either exogenous or endogenous.

An example is seen in a former student who insisted on remaining in an ethnic barrio he was studying, while (1) supposedly doing certain administrative duties toward his doctorate and (2) having a marital dispute. The combination of pressures grew too great. He lost (as best we can retrodict) his ethnography, his doctorate, and his wife.

We cannot, therefore, recommend that you stay in the exotic surround when you have physical or mental troubles.

PROCESSING YOUR DATA

Believing interpretation and dissemination of findings to be so important a subject as to deserve discussion in separate publications, we give only the barest of their details in this and subsequent chapters.

Write a letter of thanks to each person with whom you spent some time. Do not worry about irregular mail deliveries; the message will, by means not listed in official Mail-Handling Manuals, get through.

Since you will be discovering relevant data over a period of months, they will be misplaced unless you immediately group them. You should now mark one file folder for each cultural sector (at least the 11 of the Hallian Ethnography). Then whenever you discover material bearing on that matter, simply mark its exact source and drop it into the appropriate folder.

Differences from the majority ethnicity must be interpreted merely as differences and not inferiorities; the matter is especially important in interpreting so-called standardized tests, which are in fact standardized for WASP-ishness (Burger 1968:111).

To observe good style in ethnography, try any of the dozen-or-so outstanding ethnographies listed in Williams (1967:75-76).

You should act as a researcher, not a policeman. Do not guess as to legality of the behavior of your target group, or the ethicalness (within their culture or within the impacting culture) Thus, if certain behavior might be caused by smoking a drug, report ambiguously, "They were smoking excitedly."

Every informant's identity must be kept confidential--unless he is reporting a discovery which he wishes revealed, in which case we are equally obliged to accredit him with it. Give the informant a code name, which you translate to his real name and address once only in a secret part of your files. Thereafter, and in any publications, use the code name. Never describe him closely enough to enable identification. Thus, if there are only a few carpenters in the area, the next broader classification, such as 'lumber-handler', should be substituted.

One never know the breadth of distribution of his findings. Once I sent a requested report, marked "Confidential," to an organization that had had me go to a distant area to investigate morale. A month later, I happened to be passing through that area and discovered to my surprise that a meeting was going on that very moment in which a local leader was speak-

ing my report and demanding to know, almost every moment, which of the persons in the audience had provided each piece of information. Fortunately I had disguised my names and events so that (as I discovered by continuing to overhear the meeting) not a single one could successfully be traced. I had not betrayed by informants, even though the confidentiality of my report had been betrayed.

WHAT TO DO WITH YOUR OBSERVATIONS

If you are new at such fieldwork, regardless of your age, you should naturally not expect to make major discoveries. Instead, your contribution (besides self-training) is the detailing of an ethnic group probably less known than it should be.

It is difficult for a person to perceive whether or not he has discovered anything novel and important. Yet he does have the obligation to offer such material to the public. Consequently, you should at least write up your findings, however crudely. Mail them to the sort of magazine or journal that can advise you whether they are worth while publishing. Be generous with acknowledgments (such as to your employer/sponsor). The not-fully-experienced fieldworker should first consider publication in local social science journals, which are interested not only in theory (as are the global journals) but also in local ethnography. For example, there is Kansas Journal of Sociology, although its interests are not limited to Kansas or to sociology.

More ephemeral (short-lasting) outlets might be: your local newspaper's city desk; etc. Broader outlets might be: Human Organization (the journal of the international Society for Applied Anthropology).

Much of the material you have derived interests the entire ethnic community organization that is most representative. The material might well include photographs and article offprints. Thus, at Southwestern Laboratory, the author established a procedure whereby the best photos were enlarged by our Media Laboratory, mounted for wall display on colored cardboard, and sent out -- in the case of Navahos, to the local Chapter House.

Such an ethnography is not to be a goal in itself. "If one set out to note all the facts about a single grain of sand, all of the computers in the world could not store the information which could eventually be collected on that subject" (Harris 1968:288). Rather, it is a grounding, a springboard.

If you can return to your study area over a period of time--perhaps as much as ten years if you live near the area--you will have a good "baseline" for studying change. You will also be able to check the accuracy of your original observations (compare Garbett 1967). More importantly, you can both measure the success of other agencies' induced changes, and, it is hoped, spur organizations to effectuate some of your proposals, which are now receiving a firm basis. Thus, one goes from hypothesis to data, to refining the hypothesis, to refining the data. And that is a plan worthy of both the scientist, the engineer, and the humanist.

REFERENCES CITED

Since the sources on fieldwork are unlimited in number, we have tried to list principally those works that are essentially bibliographies rather than individual studies.

AA = American Anthropologist (a serial).

ADAIR, JOHN
1960 A Pueblo G.I. In Casagrande.

AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, FELLOWS OF THE
1967 Statement on problems of anthropological research and ethics. AA 69:381-82.

ARENSBERG, CONRAD M.
1940 and Solon T. Kimball. Family and community in Ireland. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.

BAKER, ROGER G.
1951 and Herbert F. Wright. One boy's day. New York, Harper.

BARNES, J.A.
1967 Some ethical problems in modern field work. In Jongmans and Gutkind.

BARRY, HERBERT III
1967 and others. Definitions, ratings, and bibliographic sources for child training practices of 110 cultures. In Ford.

BOHANNAN, LAURA
1954 (Elenore Smith Bowen, pseudonym). Return to laughter /a fact-based novel/. Garden City, N Y , Doubleday, 1964.

BOHANNAN, PAUL J.
1963 Social anthropology. New York, Holt.

BURGER, HENRY G.
1967 Telesis: Facilitating directed cultural change by strategically designing chain reactions. Anthropology Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University. Reproduced by: Ann Arbor, MI, University Microfilms, pub. 67-10, 569.
1968 "Ethno-pedagogy": A manual in cultural sensitivity, with techniques for improving cross-cultural teaching by fitting ethnic patterns. 2nd ed. Bethesda, MD 20014, ERIC NCR Document Reproduction Service, pub. Ed-024-653.
1969 ed. Ethnics on education: Report on a conference of Spanish-speaking, Amerindian, and Negro cultural leaders on Southwestern teaching and learning. Albuquerque, New Mexico, Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory, pub. 3-0469, in press.
1969b "Ethno-milieu": An omission from behavioristic psychology that requires subordination to anthropological strategy. Abstract. Current Anthropology 10 (Letter to Associates): In press.
1969c Agapurgy: Affection as a service ready for Anglo-American industrialization. Transactions on Systems Science and Cybernetics, Institute of Electrical and Electronic Engineers 5:97-98.

CARSTAIRS, G. MORRIS
1961 Cross-cultural psychiatric interviewing. In Kaplan.

CASAGRANDE, JOSEPH B.
1960 ed. In the company of man. New York, Harper.
1960b Preface. In Casagrande 1960.

COLLIER, JOHN, JR.
1967 Visual anthropology. New York, Holt.

CONKLIN, HAROLD C.
1960 A day in Parina. In Casagrande.
DenHOLLANDER, A. N. J.
1967 Social description. In Jongmans and Gutkind.
DEUTSCHER, IRWIN
1966 Words and deeds. Social Problems 13:235-54.
DuBOIS, CORA
1937 Some psychological techniques and objectives in anthropology. Reprinted in Fried 1959:11
1944 The people of Alor. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.
DUGGAN, THOMAS J.
1968 Common misinterpretations of significance levels in sociological journals. American Sociologist 3:45-46.
FORD, CLELLAN S.
1967 ed. Cross-cultural approaches. New Haven, HRAF Press.
FRIED, MORTON H.
1959 ed. Readings in anthropology. 2 vols. New York, Crowell.
GANGEL, KENNETH O.
1969 The Amish of Jamesport, Missouri. UMKC.
GARBETT, G. K.
1967 The restudy as a technique for the examination of social change. In Jongmans and Gutkind.
GONZALEZ, NANCIE L.
1968 The neoteric society /summary/ American Anthropological Association, Bulletins 1(3):54-55.
GORDON, MILTON M.
1964 Assimilation in American Life. New York, Oxford University Press.
GUTKIND, PETER C. W.
1967 and others. Annotated bibliography on anthropological field work methods. In Jongmans and Gutkind. /This is probably the most complete bibliography on fieldwork. It annotates publications caregorized into 19 groups, such as genealogical methods, life histories, and applied anthropology./
1967b Orientation and research methods in African urban studies. In Jongmans and Gutkind.
HALL, EDWARD T.
1959 The silent language. Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday.
1961 The silent language. /Paperback edition./ Greenwich, CT, Fawcett.
HARRIS, MARVIN
1968 The rise of anthropological theory. New York, Crowell.
HUMAN RELATIONS AREA FILES, see also Murdock.
JONES, J. A.
1968 Variables influencing behavior in indigenous non-Western cultures. Final progress report. Tempe, AZ, Dept. of Anthropology, Arizona State University.
JONGMANS, D. G.
1967 and Peter C. W. Gutkind, eds. Anthropologists in the field. New York, Humanities Press.
JUNKER, BUFORD H.
1960 Fieldwork: An introduction to the social sciences. /Especially see pages 159-208, divided by processes such as 'interviewing techniques'./ Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
KAPLAN, BERT
1961 ed. Studying personality cross-culturally. New York, Harper & Row.

KÖBBEN, A. J. F.
1967 Participation and quantification. In Jongmans and Gutkind.
LERNER, DANIEL
1961 An American researcher in Paris. In Kaplan.
LEWIS, OSCAR
1961 The Children of Sánchez. New York, Random House.
McFEE, MALCOLM
1968 The 150% man. AA 70:1096-1107.
MERRIAM, G. & C. CO.
1961 Webster's third new international dictionary of the English language, unabridged, edited by Philip B. Gove. Springfield, MA, Merriam.
MURDOCK, GEORGE P.
1961 and others. Outline of cultural materials. 4th ed. New Haven, CT, Human Relations Area Files.
POWDERMAKER, HORTENSE
1966 Stranger and friend. New York, Norton.
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
1951 Notes and queries on anthropology. 6th ed. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul.
SCHULMAN, SAM
1962 and Anne M. Smith. Health and disease in Northern New Mexico. U.S. Public Health Service, RG-5615, first phase, 1959-1960. Boulder, CO, Institute of Behavioral Science, University of Colorado.
SMITH, ALFRED G.
1957 Gaining rapport quickly. Reprinted In Practical Anthropology 5(1958):210.
SOCIETY FOR APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY, (FELLOWS OF THE)
1963-64 Statement on ethics. Human Organization 22:237.
SPECKMANN, J. D.
1967 Social surveys in non-Western areas. In Jongmans and Gutkind.
SPICER, EDWARD H.
1940 Pascua, a Yaqui village in Arizona. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
UMKC = University of Missouri at Kansas City, Transcultural Education course, semester report to Prof. Burger, summer 1969.
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
1966 Biographical and historical index of American Indians and persons involved in Indian affairs. 8 vols., Boston, G. & K. Hall.
WAGLEY, CHARLES
1960 Champukwi of the village of the Tapirs (Brazil). In Casagrande.
WARNER, WILLIAM LLOYD
1947 and J. O. Low. The social system of a modern factory. New Haven, Yale University Press.
WHITE, CARL M.
1964 and associates. Sources of information in the social sciences: A guide to the literature. Totowa, NJ, Bedminster Press.
WHITING, JOHN W. M.
1941 Becoming a Kwoma. New Haven, Yale University Press.
WILLIAMS, THOMAS R.
1967 Field methods in the study of culture. New York, Holt.
WITHERS, CARL (James West, pseudonym)
1945 Plainville, U.S.A. New York, Columbia University Press.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Approximately one-third of the foregoing observations were gathered during the 20 months I spent as staff anthropologist of Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory. The specific suggestion that the information deserved codification and publication came from its Deputy Director, Dr. Paul G. Liberty (now Associate Measurement and Evaluation Director at the University of Texas at Austin). I appreciate the cooperation afforded by its director, James L. Olivero, Ed.D., and its Director of Information, Ron Hamm.

The face on the cover, drawn by Art Bailey, is reproduced from Edward J. Casavantes's booklet, A New Look at the Attributes of the Mexican American (the Laboratory, Albuquerque, NM, 1969). Field discussions were held with sociologist Dr. Richard H. Thiel.

Suggestion of this form of immediate publication was made by the chairman of UMKC's Social-Philosophical Foundations of Education Department, Prof. Martin Levit. Other administrative insight was provided by the other department in which I have appointment, Sociology Department (interim chairman, Prof. Gerhard W. Ditz; incoming chairman, Prof. Philip Olson). The manuscript was prepared for reproduction by Miss Anna Borserine, Miss Dawna Hall, and Mrs. Ruby Rubyor. It is being reproduced in rapid time by the UMKC Printing Plant under Mr. Bob Bruce, and its distribution has kindly been arranged by the Bookstore under the management of Mr. Paul Haigh.

The viewpoints expressed are, of course, my own and not necessarily those of the university.

I am well aware that much more remains to be said on the procedure for fieldwork in a poly-ethnic situation. Nevertheless, considering time and resources, it was either a work of approximately this amount of labor -- or nothing. Readers are invited to advise the author, whose latest address appears in such telephone directories as Kansas City and New York City, as to their addenda, for I hope to publish more inclusive versions now that this first step has been taken.

Kansas City, August 1969 H.G.B.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

On this occasion of the need for printing more copies, we have made minor changes mainly additions, on about a dozen pages.

Kansas City, January 1970 H.G.B.

INDEX

51 Accrediting informants
31 Achieved-status persons
57 Acknowledgments
11 Advance study
Aerial photos, see Maps
Alcohol, see Stimulants
15 Allergy precautions
11 Amerindian bibliography
*Amerindian problems
Angloism, see Yankeeism
Anonymity, see Primacy
Applied anthropology, see Telesis
49 Arguments to be avoided
Automobile, see Vehicle
53 Baseline for return visits
Beer, see Stimulants
33 Behavior, precautions on
7 Behavioristic psychology
54 Bibliographies on fieldwork
30 Biennial Review of Anthropology
Cameras, see Photography
Cards, see Recording
41 Cash for your aides
19, 24 Celebration introduces you
23 Censusing a community
Chi Square, see Quantification
21 Church as introducer
54 Citation of publications
City, see Urbanness
33 Classmates in fieldwork
Confidentiality, see Privacy
15 Containers to be taken
48 Counteracting trouble
33 Couples recommended in field
31 Crop analysis
Dating, see Timing
34 Defecation customs
48 Defense missions avoided
49 Departure via fete
30 Dependence of target area
48 Devils vex researchers
Directed change, see Telesis
15 Dogs, wild
39 Dolls positioned as answers
15, 33 Dress standards
Drugs, see Stimulants
28 Economics: factors
17 Economic primacy
36 Economic skills rosterable
14, 43 Edgepunched cards
11 Educational bibliography
5 Emic is insider's
25 Emigrees as surveyors
38 Encoding of responses
22 Entry permission
45 Environment also recordable
13 Equipment to be taken
39 Essays reveal values
5 Ethnicity defined
2 Ethnography defined
27ff Ethnography, elements in
5 Ethnography, Hallian
5 Ethnohistory needed
6 Etic is outsider's
48 Ethics codes
18 Explaining your mission
23 Factionalism avoidable
5 Field is operations
*Fieldwork
51 File folders begun immediately
47 Food must be accepted
14 Food precautions
35 Games befit adulthood
Genealogy, see Social organization
6 Genotype, latent type
35 Germ theory misunderstood
40 Gifts for your aides
39 Goodenough draw-a-man test
11 Governmental records
5 Hallian ethnography
30 Harris's long-range adaptation
14-15 Health precautions
43 Hiding notebooks
30 Highway influences area
HRAF, see Murdock
53 Human Organization
13 Identification credentials
9 Identifying areas
Indian, American, See Amerindian
*Indigene
26 Informants, selection of
47 Initiatives by ethnics
39 Inkblots are ethnocentric
8 Innovation to be delayed
15 Insect precautions
35 Insecticide sprayed outdoors
47 Insulting hosts avoidable
27 Intelligence, ethnic
1 Intermittent ethnography
12 Interviewees, non-ethnic

*Discussed throughout; reword your theme.

38ff Interviewing procedures
27 Interviewing, roster of questions
31 Interviewing scope
20 Introducer, selection of
10 Islands as areas
53 Kansas Journal of Sociology
39 Kardiner interprets inkblots
Kinship, see Social organization
41 Kits as children's gifts
10 Language problems
Law, see Legality
51 Legality not to be questioned
3 Legality required
Liquor, see Stimulants
40 Loan requests dodged
22 Lunch leads to full day
13 Maps, aerial
9 Maps identify targets
26 Marginals as surveyors
27 McFee's ethnography
35 Mead, Margaret, watches dogs
13 Medical preparation
38 Metaculture, hidden rules
*Methodology
3 Middle class not slummers
7 Middle class unaware
23 Mimeographed bulletins
Movies, see Photography
43 Murdock numbers used
11 Murdock's HRAF Outline
18 Name, identifying your
27 Name, native, identification of
*Native
1 Nature of fieldwork
*Negroes
7 Neoteric is subjugated
23 Newsletters gleaned
23 Newspaper & your arrival
9 Newspaper sites targets
47 Niehoff, A. & schoolboard
Notebooks, see Records
11 Notes & Queries advance study
30 Notes & Queries gives detail
53 Novelty of findings
35 Observation procedures
Occupation, see Economics
7 Operant behaviorism
5, 14 Operational Base equipment
31 Opinion polls
21 Organizations, ethnic
11 Outline of Cultural Materials
*Participant observation
32 Participation sometimes ok
40 Paying your aides
50 Personal problems not in field
6 Phenotype, visible type
38 Photo admiration evokes
14 Photography
43 Photo synchronizes movie speech
20 Physician as introducer
Picture-taking, see Photography
47 Platero, Dillon, Rough Rock
14 Polaroid Land camera
22 Popper: Hypothesis/verification
26 Porch permits visibility
41 Presents for your aides
38 Privacy assured group answers
34 Privacy lacking in field
51 Privacy of informant
17 Problems to be narrowed
27 Problems to be sought
51 Processing field data
17 Programming your visits
22 Progressive visits
38 Psychiatry by machine
7 Psychological behaviorism
39 Psychological tests ethnocentric
53 Publication of findings
*Publications
36 Punishment customs
37 Quantification procedures
39 Questionnaires are ethnocentric
Questions, also see Interviewing
47 Questions by ethnics
45 Rationality to be assumed
*Raza, La
42 Recording contradictions
13 Records, loose leaf
54 References cited
39 Reliability of answers
30 Religion, precautions on
40 Repaying your aides
51 Reporting illegal acts
Representativeness, see Sampling
49 Respect lost by informant
42 Restudy of contradictions
26 Ritual specialist as informant
18 Role, explanation of
29 Role is situational
39 Rorschach inkblot test
47 Rough Rock Navaho School
18, 48 Rumors to be scotched

*Discussed throughout; reword your theme.

37 Sampling for representativeness
53 Sand grain has much data
20 School personnel as introducers
10 Selecting areas
40 Services as gifts
46 Sexual gestures recorded
30 Sexual questions, precautions on
35 Shaming customs
53 Sharing findings with informants
33 Shorts as erotic dress
37 Significance, statistical
7 Skinnerian behaviorism
34 Sleep interrupted
15 Soap and towels
23 Social organization, early query
14, 17 Sound recording
57 Southwestern Ed. Laboratory
Spanish-speaking, see Raza
27 Spindler's ethnography
30 Static before dynamic
Statistics, see Quantification
47 Stealing tabooed
33 Stimulants require moderation
38 Stream of consciousness
11 Study in advance
Subsistence, see Economics
iii Summary
25 Surveyor, selection of
26 Syphilis & Gonorrhea, twins
48 Taboo violation avoided
Tape recording, see Sound
13 Tax-deductible supplies
12 Tax records
17 Telesis (directed acculturation)
51 Tests interpretable
51 Thanks letters due
30 Theories to be verified
37 Timing of memorable events
15 Toilet precautions
48 Trouble, counteracting
*University
2 Urban fieldwork
7 Urban linkage
U.S.A., see Yankeeism
39 Validity of answers
39 Vehicle ride evokes
Vehicle, see also Operational Base
38 Vietnam has lush grass
W.A.S.P., see Yankeeism
Walking, see Observing
31 Watches, wrist, dress not timers
14 Water precautions
1 Weekend warriors
33 Wife accompanies husband
5 Yankeeism defined
1 Yankeeism in ethnic crisi
3 Year's event, once-a-
1 Yearlong field training

*Discussed throughout; reword your theme.